

THE HISTORY OF INDIA

THE HISTORY OF INDIA

As Told By Its Own Historians

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

SIR H. M. ELLIOT

Edited by Prof. John Dowson



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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The present volume is made up of seven articles dealing with the history of the reign of Jahangir, and an Appendix containing the text of the Institutes of Jahangir and comments thereon, which appeared in the sixth volume of the original edition of this work.

In course of his prefatory remarks the Editor observes : "The history of the reign of Jahangir depends almost entirely on the Memoirs written by himself or under his direction ; for although there are other professed historians of his reign, they merely draw their information from the Memoirs, and rarely venture upon an independent statement. It has long been known that there were different works, claiming to be Autobiographies of Jahangir. The copious Extracts which are given in this volume leave little room for doubt as to which must have been the more approved and authentic version."

The following is a list of the articles in this volume with the names of their respective writers : Memoirs of Jahangir—Preliminary Note by the Editor, *Tarikh-i Salim Shahi* or *Tuzak-i Jahangiri*, of the Emperor Jahangir—Major Price, *Dwazda-Sala-i Jahangiri* or *Waki'ati Jahangiri*, of the Emperor Jahangir—Sir H. M. Elliot, Editor and others, *Tatimmat-i Waki'at-i Jahangiri*, of Muhammad Hadi—Editor, *Ikbāl-nama-i Jahangiri*, of Mu'tamad Khan—Editor, *Maasir-i Jahangiri*, of Kamgar Khan—Sir H. M. Elliot and a *munshi*, and *Intikhab-i Jahangir-Shahi*—Elliot and a *Munshi*.

The comments on the Institutes of Jahangir are entirely written by Elliot himself.

MEMOIRS OF JAHANGIR

PRELIMINARY NOTE BY THE EDITOR

THERE are several works which profess to be the Autobiographical Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangir, and there is such confusion in their titles that a preliminary notice seems necessary for a proper apprehension of what Sir H. Elliot has written on the subject. There is also some additional information respecting them, which was not published when Sir H. Elliot wrote, but which requires to be noticed. This further knowledge might possibly have led Sir H. M. Elliot to have modified his opinions, so, instead of introducing it into his articles, it is here given with the conclusions which it suggests. The original articles are thus left as they were written, with the addition only of a few lines not affecting the general question. By this arrangement Sir H. M. Elliot's arguments will have their full force, and the reader must draw his own conclusions as to the effect of what is here written.

It is certain that there are two distinct editions of the Memoirs which differ entirely from each other. Major Price translated the one, Anderson wrote upon the other in 1786; so to obviate any prejudice as to their respective priority or authority which might arise from numbering them, one will be called Price's, the other Anderson's. It will be seen also that there are varieties of each edition.

The Autobiography translated by Major Price comes first in this work (next article). Price's Manuscript bore no title, but Sir H. Elliot calls it "*Tarikh-i-Salim Shahi*," According to Morley, the best copy of it, belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, is called "*Tarikh-i Jahangir-nama Salimi*." Another copy is called simply "*Jahangir-nama*." A MS. in the Library of the India Office (No. 546), is called in different places "*Tuzak-i Jahangiri*" and "*Jahangir-*

nama", and another in the British Museum is entitled "*Tuzak-i Jahangiri*."

Sir H. Elliot notices three different issues of this edition. One, to which he gives no name, is brief and written with great simplicity (see p. 8). The *Tarikh-i Salim-Shahi* translated by Price extends to the fifteenth year of the reign, 1029 A.H., and there is another version called "*Tuzak-i Jahangiri*," which does not come down so late (see p. 11).

Of the other, or Anderson's edition, there are two distinct issues. One extends only to the twelfth year of the reign, when, as the work itself records, it was copied and distributed by the Emperor's orders; this bears the title *Dwazda Sala Jahangiri*. The other carries on the work to the nineteenth year, when it is said that Jahangir, in consequence of failing health, gave up writing. Sir H. M. Elliot prefers calling this work "*Waki'at-i Jahangiri*," but all the MSS. I have seen are labelled "*Tuzak-i Jahangiri*," and, as will be seen in Sir H. Elliot's remarks, it has no distinctly recognized title. Jahangir himself at one time called it *Jahangir-nama* (see p. 87); afterwards he seems to have been inclined to *Ikkal-nama* (see p. 33). The Royal Asiatic Society has a good copy of this work, there is a copy in the British Museum, another in the Library of the India Office, and Sir H. Elliot's Library contains three copies.

This edition was first noticed by Anderson in 1786. Gladwin subsequently made Extracts from it, and Major Price, in the Preface of his work, observed upon the differences between his own and Anderson's version. Upon the publication of Price's translation, De Sacy compared it with Anderson's, and proved that they were independent works. The following is a summary of his argument: "He observed that the difference could not be explained by the supposition that the text, as published by Anderson, was only an abridgment or extract from the original memoirs of Jahangir, since the version of Anderson, though the more

concise of the two, contains the statement of many circumstances omitted in Price's translation ; he likewise, by quoting parallel passages, showed that it was impossible that Anderson's extracts and Price's version could have been derived from the same text. De Sacy also mentions the exaggerated account of property and expenditure, as to the number of elephants, horses etc., and the cost of buildings, and such like, in the memoirs translated by Price, compared with the more moderate statements given in Anderson's extracts. He concludes, without questioning the authenticity of the MS. employed by Price, by stating that he considers the extracts published by Anderson and Gladwin have a greater right to be considered the work of the Emperor than the MS. from which Price has translated, and that the latter is probably a portion of a more recent work written on the basis of the original memoirs of Jahangir, and perhaps of other documents, by some writer who has wrongfully adopted the first person, as though addressing his children, and without regard to the order of events, has inserted much extraneous matter, just as he happened to remember it, leaving out many things that ought to have formed part of the narrative."¹

Sir H. M. Elliot calls these "the authentic Memoirs," and his view of the question is given in the next two articles. A very similar conclusion had been arrived at independently and almost contemporaneously by Morley in England. That gentleman, in cataloguing the MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, found among them and in the Library of the India Government two distinct versions. The version translated by Price he called "the first edition," for the very sufficient reason that one copy of this MS. was dated in the year 1040 H., (A.D. 1630), only three years later than the death of Jahangir. But his critical sagacity was not at fault, and he discovered the superior value of what he called "the second edition." A comparison of the MSS., he

¹ See *Morley's Catalogue*, p. 114.

says, "at once set the question at rest as to there being two texts of the Memoirs, but some doubt still remained as to their respective authenticity. That the edition which I have called the first is authentic, is, I think, sufficiently proved by the age of the present MS., since a work transcribed so soon after the author's death could scarcely have been foisted on the public if a forgery; but the authenticity of the larger and more complete edition remained still doubtful. The details given by Muhammad Hadi, the editor, are, I think, decisive as to the genuineness of the larger work. He distinctly states that Jahangir himself wrote the history of eighteen years of his reign, and that he, Muhammad Hadi, continued it from various trustworthy sources to the time of the Emperor's death. I have called it the second edition, since it was edited after the author's death, but it possibly, nay was probably, prepared as it at present exists, by the Emperor himself. That the shorter work was only a kind of sketch for the preparation of the more complete edition, may be hazarded as a conjecture; but from the great difference existing between them, I am disposed to think that Jahangir, like Timur and Babar, wrote his autobiography in the Chaghatai Turki language, and that the copies we now possess are merely more or less perfect translations from the original." This "first edition" of Morley comes down to the year 1029, and is the same as that called by Sir Henry "*Tarikh-i Salim-Shahi*."

Sir H. M. Elliot, unaware of the early MS. above noticed, rejects Price's version as spurious, as having "been written by a jeweller rather than an Emperor," but the edition which he describes as "authentic" gives ample proof of Jahangir's love of jewels, and of his habit of appraising their value. Taken as a whole, Anderson's edition is the more valuable; but while it records the Emperor's venial sins, his love of wine, and his drinking parties, it has less to say of his dark deeds. Morley's idea of the two editions being only different translations of one Chaghatai original is unsatisfactory, for it would not account for the great

divergences of the two works. Another solution of the difficulty may be suggested.

The fact is established that both editions were in existence before or soon after the death of Jahangir. It is proved, as regards Price's version, by the early dated MS. above noticed; and the fact that there are MSS. extant of Anderson's version which extend no further than the twelfth year of the reign, substantiates the statement of Jahangir having had the work copied out and distributed at that period. The first part of the *Ikbāl-nama*, written soon after his death, is merely an abstract of these Memoirs. It has been perhaps too hastily assumed that Jahangir wrote the Memoirs with his own hand, for he was hardly the man to have taken upon himself such manual labour. He certainly states, in the passage quoted on p. 32, that he himself was the scribe up to a certain time; but in the very same passage he says that he appointed Mu'tamad Khan to continue the work, because this man had been "before employed to write the occurrences of my reign." This shows that one professional annalist had been retained; and it seems very probable that the Emperor kept two or more memoir-writers, to whom he gave directions as to the events they were to record, and a general expression of his opinion on the various subjects to be noticed. It may be that in some instances he wrote down or dictated the words he wished to be recorded, but it is more likely that in most cases his (auto) biographers followed their own bent in composing their respective records. Such a difference as exists between the two versions, a difference of details rather than of general conception, would be the natural result of such an arrangement.

Anderson's version, up to the end of the twelfth year, had the advantage of Jahangir's express approval, and has therefore the right to be called an "authentic version." Price's has no such mark of approbation, but cannot fairly be rejected as spurious. It is not a caricature, nor is it written in an inimical spirit; but the writer had a very

exaggerated notion of numbers, and his figures must always be rejected. It contains much which the other version shows to have been characteristic of Jahangir, and in some respects it is superior ; for it speaks more fully and clearly of deeds which he would probably have liked to conceal or gloss over. This may account for its not having received the royal approval.

TARIKH-I SALIM SHAHI

TUZAK-I JAHANGIRI

THESE two works, of which the names are assumed somewhat arbitrarily, must be considered together.

The name of *Tarikh-i Salim-Shahi* is ascribed to different copies of the same work found in distant parts of India, and as there is no probability that these were copied from one another rather than from some older original, we may assume the name to be correct, although in the body of the work no particular name is assigned to it.

The *Tarikh-i Salim-Shahi* was translated in the year 1829 by Major David Price, of the Bombay Army, for the Oriental Translation Committee, under the title of "Memoirs of the Emperor Jehangueir, written by himself, and translated from Persian Manuscript." He observes that the Manuscript, "not being distinguished by any particular title, the translator would have ventured to style it the *Wakiat Jahanguiri*, or to bestow on it some other name equally signifying 'Incidents in the reign of the Emperor Jahanguier.' But to supply an Oriental name from mere conjecture seemed unnecessary, as the contents could be indicated with sufficient accuracy in an English title-page. Besides, from some extracts, occupying about seventeen pages in the 'Asiatic Miscellany' (printed at Calcutta, 1785, 1786, vol. ii, pp. 71-73), it would appear to be the same, or nearly the same, with that work which was described by an accomplished Orientalist, who translated those passages (James Anderson), as the *Toozuk-i Jehangeery*, or *Memoirs of Jehangeer*, written by himself, and containing a history of the transactions of the first thirteen years of his reign. But Anderson did not profess to give more than a few extracts from the *Tuzak*; and a comparison of these with

the present work will show that he must have occasionally omitted whole pages between certain facts recorded in both."

The difference between the versions of Major Price and Anderson have been marked by M. de Sacy in the "Journal des Savants," 1830.²

Amongst the autobiographies of Jahangir which circulate in this country, there is one much smaller than the *Salim Shahi* translated by Major Price. It is written with greater simplicity, with a truthfulness and sincerity more suited to an Imperial pen, and bearing upon it a far superior stamp of authenticity. This was probably the original from which the *Tarikh-i Salim Shahi* was amplified, and may have been composed by Jahangir in the early part of his reign. The translated work seems to have been written rather by a jeweller than an Emperor, and the pretended accuracy and minuteness with which the value of gold, silver, and precious stones is given, and the astounding exaggeration displayed in enumerating sums, "which far outshine the wealth of Ormus and of Ind," convey to the mind strong internal evidence of fabrication; and though there is much that no doubt correctly represents the sentiments of Jahangir, some parts at least of the composition must be ranked in the same class with the fictions of Ennius and Psalmanazar.

A few instances may as well be adduced, to show the exaggerations of the *Tarikh-i Salim-Shahi*.

At page 2 of Major Price's translation it is said, "On this occasion I made use of the throne prepared by my father, and enriched it at an expense without parallel, for the celebration of the festival of the year, at the entrance of the Sun into Aries. In the fabrication of the throne a

² A memorandum of Sir H. Elliot's shows that he had not seen De Sacy's notice when he wrote this article, but that it remained to be obtained and considered. A summary of De Sacy's arguments is given elsewhere, see p. 2-3.

sum not far short of ten *krours* of *ashrefies*, of five *mithkals* the *ashrefy*, was expended in jewels alone; a *kroure* being the term of an hundred laks, and a lak being 100,000, independently of 300 *mauns* of gold, Hindustany measure, employed in the workmanship, each *maun* of Hind being equal to ten *mauns* of Irak."

The translator converts the value of jewels alone into 150 millions sterling!—an incredible sum, as he justly observes; but the more sober statement of the *Tuzak-i Jahangiri* says "only sixty laks of *ashrafis* and fifty *mans* of gold, Hindustani measure," and there is no mention of the throne in the authentic Memoirs.

A little below we read: "Having thus seated myself on the throne of my expectations and wishes, I caused also the Imperial crown, which my father had caused to be made after the manner of that which was worn by the great kings of Persia, to be brought before me, and then, in the presence of the whole assembled Ameirs, having placed it on my brows, as an omen auspicious to the stability and happiness of my reign, kept it there for the space of a full astronomical hour. On each of the twelve points of this crown was a single diamond of the value of one *lak* of *ashrefies* of five *mithkals*, the whole purchased by my father with the resources of his own government, not from anything accruing to him by inheritance from his predecessors. At the point in the centre of the top part of the crown was a single pearl of four *mithkals*, of the value of one *lak* of *ashrefies*; and on different parts of the same were set altogether 200 rubies of one *mithkal* each, and each of the value of 6000 rupees." Upon which the translator observes, "Altogether this superb symbol of supreme power may be valued at two millions and seventy thousand pounds sterling;" but in the smaller work, and in the authentic Memoirs, there is no mention whatever of this costly crown.

At page 5 Jahangir says he remitted certain sources of revenue, "which yielded to his father no less than 1600 Hindustany *mauns* of gold, equal to 16,000 *mauns* of Irak."

The *Tuzak* says sixty *mans* of Hindustani, and the authentic Memoirs give no sum.

At page 14 he says that "the workmanship alone of the citadel of Agra was completed at the expense of not less than 186 *laks* of *ashrefies* of five *mithkals* each;" which the translator, with a note of admiration, converts into £26,550,000! The *Tuzak* gives only thirty-six *lacs* of rupees, and the authentic Memoirs thirty five *lacs* of rupees, equal to 1,15,000 *tumans* of Iran, or one *kror* five *lacs* Khani of Turan.

At page 15 he says that "the temple which had been built by Raja Man Singh, and which the King demolished for the purpose of raising a mosque on its ruins, cost in its construction nearly thirty-six *lacs* of five *mithkaly ashrefies*," which, as the translator says, is 5,40,00,000 rupees! The *Tuzak* says only 8,00,000 rupees.

At page 32 "he sends to Shahzada Parwez a chaplet of pearl of the value of 5,00,000 rupees." The *Tuzak* says, 1,00,000.

At page 34 he says "that Daulat Khan left at this death property equivalent, according to the translator, to £120,000,000!" The *Tuzak* says only 300,000 *tumans* of jewels, besides gold and other specie.

At page 37 he states "that the property of his brother Danial amounted in jewels to five *crore* of *ashrefies*, and two *crore* in treasure of the same currency, or £63,000,000 sterling!" The *Tuzak* is silent as to the amount.

At page 51 the tiara of Himu is said "to have been set with diamonds, sapphires, rubies, emeralds, and pearls, to the value of sixty *lacs* of *ashrefies*, or £5,400,000 sterling." The *Tuzak* says only 80,000 *tumans*.

At page 67, in speaking of the preparations for the pursuit of his son Khusru, he says "40,000 horses feeding in his own stables, and 100,000 camels, were brought out and distributed." The *Tuzak* has nothing on the subject.

At page 79 he says "he delivered to Jemeil Beg 100,000 *ashrefies* to be distributed amongst the Badakshanians, and

that he ordered 50,000 rupees to be distributed among the *Durweishes* at Adjmeir." The *Tuzak* gives the sum at 30,000 rupees, and mentions nothing about the donations to the Badakhshanians.

At page 88 "the jewel-chest of Khossrou is said to have contained £18,000,000 sterling!" It must have been a pretty large and heavy one to have held only £18,000, and the *Tuzak* says nothing about its contents.

After these instances of exaggeration, who will believe this Valerius, "immoderately augmenting the number of all things,"³ and it is therefore much to be regretted that these translated Memoirs have obtained so much currency and credit in Europe, as true revelations of the Emperor's sentiments and proceedings.

There are also other additions, as well as omissions, which throw discredit upon the translated work. For instance, the account of the rebellion and capture of Khusru, though given in great detail in both the spurious and the authentic copies, which will be hereafter noticed, varies in several essential particulars, and at the conclusion of these occurrences, instead of Jahangir's returning to Agra, as he is represented in the translation to do, he goes to Kabul, as he is said in all other histories to have done.

Amongst other omissions, a very striking one is, that not only is there scarcely any allusion made to his propensity to drinking, but he speaks with pious horror of this disgraceful addiction of his brother Daniyal; whereas in the true Memoirs, there are as many drinking bouts noticed as in the Memoirs of Jahangir's great-grandfather Babar; and the extraordinary quotations to which he confesses would have shamed even that immoderate toper.

The *Tarikh-i Salim Shahi* details events, without much regard to order, down to the period of Jahangir's first visit

³ *Valerio -quis credat, omnium rerum immodice numerum augenti.—Livy, .xxxiii. 10.*

to Kashmir, which occurred in 1029 A.H. or the fifteenth year of the reign.

The *Tuzak* gives no date beyond 1017 A.D. but notices a transaction which occurred in 1020 A.H. One-half of the *Tuzak* is devoted to Akbar and Khusru.

It concludes with mentioning the practice of the King and his officers to discharge guns on the first day of every month. This corresponds with page 89 of the translation; and thus those stories of magical performances and sleight of hand are omitted,⁴ in which the Emperor betrays himself as the most credulous believer in the supernatural power of jugglers, and which has served his biographers with the opportunity, when reflecting upon the Demonology of his English contemporary, of marking another striking coincidence between the sentiments and persuasions of the two monarchs.

A comparison of the concluding portion of the *Tuzak-i Jahangiri* with the corresponding passage in the translated *Tarikh-i Salim-Shahi* will show better than any description the relation which one bears to the other.

The copies of the *Tarikh-i Salim-Shahi* which I have seen close with a few pages of moral precepts, containing a kind of prose *Pand-nama*, of which the authorship is

⁴ It will be seen that in the authentic *Memoirs* these exhibitions are mentioned merely in general terms. See also the beginning of the 3rd *Julus*. These stories are given in full detail in the *Khulasatu-t Tawarikh*, as from the *Memoirs*, showing that the author must have considered the *Salim-Shahi* as authentic. It is there added that the Emperor gave them nearly 50,000 rupees, and made his principal officers imitate his example, so that the jugglers received in all 2,00,000 rupees. He tells us also that these feats are common in Europe. Major Prince's version says "I have heard it stated that the art has been called Lemuanian (perhaps Asmanian), celestial." But the real word used in the original is *Simya*, meaning "fascination," "enchantment." In the *Mirat-i Aftab-numa* (see Vol. xx), these performances were narrated in the same way.

assigned to Jahangir ; but these are not noticed by Major Price in his translation of the work. ["The *Pand-nama*," says Morley, "occupies thirty-two leaves. The Memoirs and the *Pand-nama* are in the present volume (No. 117) freely interspersed with verses, many of which are omitted in Price's MS.," though that contains the *Pand-nama*]. The short Preface which follows, without any break, immediately after the text of the *Salim-Shahi*, appears to have been written by I'timadu-d daula. It runs thus : *From the words of I'timadu-d daula*—"Since His Majesty's disposition inclines at all times to the weighing of words, decent manners, and excellent actions, he has enjoined several precepts for the observance of his servants, who are endowed with purity of mind. In very truth, he has threaded the pearl of intelligence by means of the boring instrument of a powerful imagination, and, in very truth, he is such a wise and prudent King, that useful advice is implanted in the very essence of his noble nature, and he may fairly be considered among the perfect saints. It is therefore proper for his true and faithful subjects to invoke continually blessings on his head, for God, from the tribunal of the six quarters of the universe, has bestowed the chain of Justice⁵ upon his subjects. May the Almighty increase the years of His Majesty, Nuru-d din Jahangir, until the Day of Judgment, and may the years of the children of this second Alexander, of this lord of State and lofty dignity, of him who sits on the throne of Sulaiman, etc. etc., of this

⁵ In allusion to the silly chain of justice which the Emperor tells us he fastened from the palace at Agra to a stone pillar near the Jumna. It was covered with bells, so that when any petitioner demanded justice, he might make his presence known by shaking the chain. It does not appear that it was ever shaken, and probably was never meant for anything but parade. The practice was a mere imitation of what was attributed to one of the early Chinese Emperors, Yu-tu. Modern Universal History, vol. vii, p. 206. And Raja Anangpal had already done the same at Dehli.—See extract from Mir Khusrū's Nuh Sipīhr. Vol. III, p. 565, Or. Ed.

compound of bravery and excellence, be also continued for ever !”

“The precepts of Jahangir Shah, for the observance and regulation of his sons and disciples, who should treasure them in their memories perpetually. First, let them know that the world is not eternal, and that the less care they have for it the better. Act towards your inferiors, as you wish that your superiors should act towards you.”

After several pages of similar commonplace axioms, it concludes with the following sage remarks : “Bodily strength is to be obtained by three practices : 1. To speak little. 2. To eat little. 3. To sleep little. Three combinations are incompatible. 1. Power with the eating of lawful things. 2. Kindness with anger. 3. Truth with loquacity. Four things make a man fat. 1. To put on new clothes. 2. To indulge much in hot baths. 3. To eat greasy or sweet food. 4. To live according to one's desire. Six things make the heart black and sorrowful. 1. To put on dirty clothes, and cut your hair but seldom. 2. To be in a state of ceremonial defilement. 3. To tell many lies. 4. Backbiting. 5. To be abusive. 6. Negligence in prayer. Whoever attends to these precepts will procure liberation in this world and the next, will never be oppressed by evil, will always be held in consideration by great and small, and will not be ashamed in the morrow of resurrection. But whoever acts contrary to these precepts will obtain nothing but distress and dishonour in this world, and it will be accounted to him for sin in the next.”

Verse.—“I have told you what I was commissioned to reveal ; you may derive warning from listening to my words, or sorrow from rejecting them.”

The *Tarikhi-Salim-Shahi* opens thus :

*ay*nam-i tu sar daftar asrar-i wujud*naqsh sifatat
bar dar wa diwar wujud*dar parda kibriya nihan
gashta bikhulq*hamwar 'iyan bar sar-i bazar
wujud*hamd bi ghayat wa shukr bi nihayat*

*mubdi'y ki bi yak amr kun ajrami falki wa ajsam-i
'unsuri ra az makman-i 'adam nabz'ayi wujud
awurdeh sani'y ki tabqat-i asman ra bar afrasht wa
basat-i khak ra bi anwar-i qudrat biyarast*wuju-
dash-i an farwaran aftar ast ki zarra zarra ardi
nuryab ast**

and ends :

*mahabab khan ra ki panjhazi pay takht man
ast babat hazar ehada chahar aspah wa dah hazar
topchi jammaz sawar wa duwist fil rawana kabil
kardam ilahadad khan ki buzurg juma'at afghan
bud bi-jihati az ma girikhteh ban sarhad rafta bud
mahabat khan hukmi firastadam ki agar waq'i
shawad u ra ham badast awurda zindah bihazur
firastad ta ma dar huzur u ra bi saza rasanam
binabar 'abrat digaran bashad ki bijihati az in
dargah nabayad raft.*

SIZE.—12mo. 498 pages of 9 lines each.

Here follows the beginning and ending of the *Tuzak-i Jahangiri*, corresponding with the work in Jonathan Scott's Library under the name of *Kar-nama Jahangiri*.⁶

Beginning :

*hamd bighayat wa shukr la nihayat mubd'a ra ki
biyak amr kun ajram-i falki wa ajsam-i 'unsuri ra
az makman-i 'adam bawujud awurdeh wa sani'y
ki tabqat-i aflak ra bar afrasht wa basat-i khak ra
ba nawa qudrat bisiyar ast. wa admi ra biziwar-i
lutf wa zinat-i 'aql ikhtasas dad tabdan taj karamat
wa khila'at jalalat firastad wa zamin wa zaman ra
dar qabsa taskhir-i khwud award.*

Ending :

*wa aksar pidar-i man ruz gharra mah auwal tafang
bidast-i khwud girafteh bi andakhtand wa ba'd az*

⁶ *Critical Essays on Various Manuscript Works*, page 40.

an mansabداران wa barqandazan sar midadand wa dar hich waqt ghair az in nabud ki dar sar-i har mah in ghugha numayand wa man niz bidan dastur-i auwal tafang az dast-i khwud mi andazam wa digar shuru' az hamd andazam wa digar shuru' az hamd mishwad.

SIZE—8vo., 109 pages of 16 lines to a page.

EXTRACTS

¹ When the troops and generals of Khusru's army despaired of the capture of the fort, and news arrived of the royal army being in pursuit, they perceived that they had committed extreme folly, and had not obtained any place where they could remain secure. Distracted as they were, they set their hearts upon battle, and determined that with twelve thousand men they would make a night attack upon my victorious army.

With this design, on Tuesday, between the hours of evening and bed-prayer, they abandoned the siege of the fort of Lahore, and withdrew. The next evening the intelligence reached me at the *sarai* of Kazi Ali, that Khusru, after raising the siege of Lahore, had gone off with nearly 20,000 wretches. On receipt of this news, fire inflamed my breast, and I reflected that perhaps he might have undertaken some other expedition. That very night, though rain was falling heavily, I ordered that the camp should be struck, and we marched to Dewal, crossing the river at Govindwal.

On Thursday, about noon, Shaikh Farid succeeded in intercepting the army of Khusru, and found himself in

¹ This translation was made by Sir H. M. Elliot. It has been compared with Major Price's translation, and with his MS. now in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society. The chief variations are attributable to differences in the original texts; but in minor points Sir H. Elliot's translation often represents more accurately the sense of the MS.

presence of the luckless enemy. I was seated at Sultanpur, and at that moment they had just brought me a tray of food, and I was about to eat something, when news arrived that the action had commenced. I took only a mouthful for good luck's sake, while they were preparing my charger. I then mounted and galloped off. I did not stay to put my army in array, and although I demanded my arms, yet I took nothing but my sword and spear with me, and commending myself to God, proceeded in the utmost haste towards the scene of action. There were about 10,000 cavalry with me, but I ordered the paymaster to get ready the reserve and follow me. When I arrived at the bridge of Govindwal, I sent on nearly 20,000 men to support Shaikh Farid.

I also despatched Mir Jamalu-d din Husain Inju to Khusru, to give him advice, to the effect that although the devil had drawn him from the right path, and that he was now actually engaged in open contest with me, I was ready to pardon his crime, provided he accompanied Mir Jamalu-d din to my presence, and confessing shame for his proceedings, would relieve himself of the responsibility of sacrificing me and the slaves of God. Though himself well inclined to repair to my presence, he was withheld by the counsels of the desperate and turbulent profligates with him, and the reply which he conveyed to me through Jamalu-d din imported that, having proceeded so far, there was no alternative but the sword, and that God Almighty would give the crown to that head which he knew to be worthy of the empire.

When this reply was communicated to me by Mir Jamalu-d din, I no longer entertained any compassion for my headlong son, and, being without remedy, I sent to announce to Shaikh Farid that there was no longer need to await farther orders, and that he was at once to attack the main body of the rebels. When the Shaikh received this announcement, Bahadur Khan Uzbek commenced the attack on their rear with 10,000 cavalry, while Shaikh Farid

attacked the enemy in front with 20,000 men. The battle commenced two hours after sunrise, and did not close till sunset. As the assistance of God and the future of the empire were on my side, nearly 10,000 horsemen of the enemy were slain in the battle and pursuit.

Bahadur Khan Uzbek happened to come to the very spot when Khusru, having dismounted from his horse, had seated himself on a litter, conceiving that in the tumult of the battle he would not be recognized and be taken captive. Bahadur Khan, however, on recognizing him, caused him to be immediately surrounded by his troops, just as Shaikh Farid arrived at the same spot. Khusru, no longer perceiving the smallest outlet for escape, quitted the litter, and said to Shaikh Farid that compulsion was unnecessary, as he was of his own accord on the way to throw himself at his father's feet.

I was myself at the head of the bridge of Govindwal, in some apprehension of the result. Mir Jamalu-d din was saying that he had seen with his own eyes that the troops of Khusru exceeded 50,000 men, and he doubted if Shaikh Farid could overcome them that night, seeing that his force, combined with that of Bahadur Khan Uzbek, did not exceed 14,000 cavalry. I was engaged in this conversation, when news arrived of Shaikh Farid's victory and the capture of Khusru. Mir Jamalu-d din dismounted from his horse, and throwing himself at my feet, exclaimed, "This is the real meaning of good fortune. But I scarcely yet venture to believe the news to be true." He had scarcely said this, when Khusru himself with his eunuchs were brought into my presence, and laid their heads on the ground before me. At that moment, the Mir, in great agitation and surprise, fell down again at my feet, exclaiming, "This is indeed Your Majesty's good fortune, which God has been pleased to grant."

Both Shaikh Farid and Abu Kasim Uzbek (Bahadur Khan) had conducted themselves with distinguished valour, and I immediately advanced both to the order of five

thousand, with the insignia of the drum and standard, a horse with enriched caparisons, and waistband similarly ornamented ; and I promoted Bahadur Khan to the Government of Kandahar. Shaikh Farid had previously possessed the rank of an *amir* of two thousand, and I now promoted him to that of five thousand. Saif Khan, son of Saiyid Mahmud, had also performed excellent service, having received not less than seventeen wounds ; and Saiyid Jamalu-d din also received a mortal wound on one side of the head, of which he died a few days afterwards.

Saiyid Kamalu-d din and his brother, terror-stricken by the din of the Imperial kettle-drums, fled in consternation from the field at the very commencement of the action. Nearly 400 Aimaks⁸ were sent to perdition in the conflict, and nearly 300 wretched ingrates from different quarters were brought prisoners to my presence. The jewel-chest of Khusru fell into the hands of some persons who were never discovered.

On Thursday, the 25th of Zi-l hijja, I entered the castle of Lahore, and took my seat in the royal pavilion built by my father, from which he used to view the combats of elephants ; and I directed a number of sharp stakes to be set up in the bed of the river, upon which thrones of misfortune and despair I caused the 300 traitors who had

⁸ *This is the specific name of a tribe, as well as a generic term to signify a tribe. The particular tribe of Aimaks is noticed in Bidle's "Bokhara," p. 79 ; David's "Turkish Grammar," p. xliii. The Aimaks of Afghanistan lie to the west of the Hazaras.—Elphinstone's "Cabul," vol. i., p. 162 ; vol. ii., pp. 242-49. For its generic meaning see "Modern Univ. His.," vol. iii. pp. 251-334. "Each of the three great branches of the Mungls is divided into aymacks or tribes. Every aymack is composed of a number of families, who usually encamp together, and never separate without acquainting their chief. When an aymack or tribe is assembled, whether to fight their enemies, or for any other particular reason, it is called *orda*, or, as the Europeans term it, a *horde*."—Ibid. vol. iv. p. 79.*

conspired with Khusru to be impaled alive. Than this there cannot exist a more excruciating punishment, for the culprits die in lingering torture. Let the reflecting man take warning by this, and be deterred by the thousand punishments, which cannot exceed those which I have described, from similar acts of perfidy and treason towards their benefactors.

As the Imperial treasury was at Agra, as my authority was only lately established, and as the disaffected were ripe for revolt, it seemed inconsistent with good policy to remain longer at Lahore, and I therefore returned to Agra, leaving Khusru to the visitations of shame, in the custody of Dilawar Khan, who had instructions to watch him with unremitting vigilance. A son ought always to be the stay of monarchy. To continue, therefore, in a state of hostility with him, would be to sap the foundations of its prosperity. Never have I permitted myself to be misled from the right path by injudicious counsels; my proceedings being governed by my own reason and experience. I have constantly borne in mind the observation of my father and spiritual guide, that two things are necessary for kings and princes, viz., prudence and success; prudence to preserve the sovereignty, and good fortune to maintain one's wealth. Without good fortune, wealth is fleeting and in a short time slips through our fingers.

In short, on the 28th of Safar, I returned to the metropolis of Agra. I cannot omit to describe, that for more than thirty-two hours after the flight of Khusru, and while I was far from Agra, his mother, being oppressed with grief, refused to take either food or water, but weeping and wailing, in hunger, and doing penance like the saints, sustaining life only by the barest sustenance, departed at last, in distraction and in anger, to the mercy of God—for how can any one live without either bread or water for two or three days?⁹

⁹-Major Price attributes this abstinence to Khusru, but in this and many other parts he is not consistent with the original "Tarikh-

Keshu Rai, in close attention to his duties, surpassed his father. By night and by day he was unremitting in his attendance. Rain or fair, he would stand during the whole night leaning on his staff. He always accompanied me on foot on my hunting excursions. For these services, I had, previous to my accession conferred upon him the order of 5,000, and after my accession, I raised his *mansab* by 1,000. He is now, however, from his increasing corpulence, become in a great degree incapable of discharging his duties. In short, kings do not look so much to the persons of men as to their services; and in proportion as these latter improve in merit, so will be the personal advancement.

On the first day of every month, it was the rule with my father to discharge his matchlock, and he was followed by all his attendants, from the highest dignitary to the lowest stipendiary. This discharge never occurred but on such occasion. In imitation of the same example, I have continued the practice, discharging a matchlock with my own hand, and followed by every one present.

The same passage from the Tarikh-i Salim Shahi runs thus in Major Price's translation, pp. 85-89.

"The generals of Khossrou, not less than his troops, now despairing of the capture of the castle, and assailed by accumulating rumours of the approach of the imperial armies, began to perceive the folly of the treasons by which they had so deeply committed themselves; neither could they venture to foresee the moment at which, instead of laying siege to others, they should not be themselves besieged. All was now consternation, in which, nevertheless, setting their minds on battle and death, it was resolved, with one hundred and twelve thousand horse, which they had contrived to collect together, to make at night a bold and simultaneous attack upon my camp.

i Salim-Shahi," which I have examined. But it must be confessed that the sentence is infamously constructed in both works, and the translator says that, from some omission, it became difficult to translate it into common sense.

With this magnificent design in view, on Tuesday, the 24th of Zilhudge, between the hours of evening prayer and supper time, they abandoned the siege of the castle of Lahore, and withdrew from before the city altogether. On the evening of Thursday the 26th, while at the serai of Rhaujush Ally, intelligence was brought to me, that after raising the siege of Lahour, Khossrou, with about twenty thousand men, had gone off no one knew whither; and this awakening the greatest anxiety lest he might, after all, be able to elude my pursuit, I instantly gave orders to march, although there was at the time a heavy and incessant fall of rain. The same day I crossed the river of Goundwaul, and encamped at Dowaul.

It was on Thursday the 26th, about noon, that Sheikh Fereid succeeded in interrupting the march of Khossrou, and thus found himself at last in the presence of the enemy. At this moment at Sultanpour, I had just seated myself, and was about to eat of some parched wheat, which was brought me by Moezz-ul-moulk, when intelligence was communicated to me of the situation of Sheikh Fereid, and that he was actually engaged with the troops of Khossrou. Having swallowed a single mouthful for good luck, I instantly called for and mounted my horse, and consigning myself entirely to the protection of God's providence, without suffering myself to be delayed by any concern for an array of battle, or being able to furnish myself at the moment with any other arms than my sword and a javelin, I gave the reins to my horse, and hastened towards the scene of the conflict. I had, however, about my person, more than 10,000 horse, although none were apprised that they were that day to be led to battle. Neither was it indeed in strict conformity with the rules of military discipline, to engage in conflict with numbers so inferior, however favoured by Providence, the troops being, in fact, much disheartened by the contemplation of their manifest disparity. I endeavoured to remove these impressions, by directing the Bukhshies to order the whole army forward to our support without delay,

and making generally known the crisis at which we were arrived. By the time I reached Goundwaul, accordingly, my force had amounted to 20,000 horse, and 50,000 camel-mounted gunners or matchlockmen, all of whom I now forwarded to the support of Sheikh Fereid.

Things were at this perilous crisis, when I thought it advisable to despatch Meir Jmmaul-du-dein Husseyne with a message to Khossrou, intreating that he would retrace his steps in time, and to beware of the awful responsibility to which he was exposing himself for the blood of such untold thousands of God's creatures. From this, though himself well inclined to repair to my presence, he was, however, withheld by the counsels of the desperate and turbulent profligates by whom he was surrounded ; and the reply which he conveyed to me through Jummaul-ud-dein imported, that having proceeded so far, there was no alternative but the sword ; and that God Almighty would doubtless give the crown to that head which he knew to be most worthy of the Empire.

When this presumptuous reply from Khossrou was communicated to me by Meir Jummaul-ud-dein, I sent to announce to Sheikh Fereid that there was no longer room for deliberation, and that he was at once to attack the main body of the rebels. These orders were carried into execution without a moment's delay. The attack commenced on one side from Bahauder Khaun the Ouzbek, at the head of 30,000 horse in cotton-mail, and 20,000 camel-mounted matchlockmen ; while Sheikh Fereid, with a body-guard of chosen warriors, rushed upon the enemy on the other. The army of Khossrou, on this occasion, consisted altogether of 200,000 horse and camel-mounted matchlockmen ; the former clad in the same description of quilted mail as worn by the troops of Bahauder Khaun. The battle commenced at the close of the second watch of the day and continued uptil sunset. The providence of God and the fortune of the Empire being on my side, the result was a triumphant day

for me ; for when 30,000 of the enemy had bitten the dust, the remainder discontinued all resistance, and quitted the field in dismay.

Bahauder Khaun came, as it happened, to the very spot where Khossrou, having dismounted from his horse, had seated himself on a litter, conceiving that in the tumult and confusion of the pursuit, he might possibly be able to escape without being known. Bahauder Khaun caused him, however, to be immediately surrounded by his troops, and Sheikh Fereid arriving also on the spot, Khossrou, no longer perceiving the smallest outlet for escape, and that he must be overtaken without alternative, quitted the *singhassun* (or covered litter), on which he lay concealed, and announced to Sheikh Fereid that all further force was unnecessary, as he was, of his own accord, on the way to throw himself at his father's feet.

I call God to witness, that while at Goundwaul, at this perilous crisis, I experienced some strong forebodings that Khossrou was coming to my presence ; but Jummaul-ud-dein Husseyne did not hesitate to express considerable doubt that Sheikh Fereid would that night be able to repulse the enemy, since, as he said, he had with his own eyes ascertained that Khossrou had with him a force of more than 200,000 fighting men. In this sort of discussion we were engaged, when it was announced that Sheikh Fereid was victorious, and that Khossrou was his prisoner. Still incredulous of the joyful event, Jummaul-ud-dein dismounted from his horse, and throwing himself at my feet, persisted in the declaration, that although my imperial fortune indicated all that was propitious, still he could not yet give credit to the report. Every doubt was removed, however, a little afterwards, when Khossrou, on his litter, accompanied by his general of artillery, was conducted into my presence.

Both Sheikh Fereid and Bahauder Khaun had conducted themselves on this trying occasion with distinguished

ability and valour, and I immediately advanced the latter to the order of 5,000, with the insignia of the drum and standard, and a present of horses with enriched caparisons, conferring upon him, moreover, the government of Kandahaur. Sheikh Fereid had previously possessed the rank of an Ameir of 2,000, and I now promoted him to that of 4,000. Seyf Khaun, the son of Seyed Mahmoud, had also greatly distinguished himself, having received not less than seventeen wounds in different parts of the body. Seyed Jullaul received a mortal wound in the upper region of the heart, of which he died a few days afterwards. He was of a distinguished family among the Afghans.

Seyed Hullaul and his brother, two of Khossrou's generals, terror-stricken by the din of the imperial kettle-drums, fled in consternation from the field, at the very commencement of the action. Nearly 400 heads of tribes, Owimauk, were sent to perdition in the conflict, and about 700 were brought from different quarters prisoners to my presence. The jewel-chest of Khossrou, containing jewels to the value of nearly two *krou* of five-methkaly *ashrefies*, fell into the hands of some persons who were never discovered.

In the course of the same Thursday I entered the castle of Lahour, where I took up my abode in the royal pavilion, built by my father on this principal tower, from which to view the combats of elephants. Seated in the pavilion, having directed a number of sharp stakes to be set up in the bed of the Rauvy, I caused the 700 traitors who had conspired with Khossrou against my authority to be impaled alive upon them. Than this there cannot exist a more excruciating punishment, since the wretches exposed frequently linger a long time in the most agonising torture, before the hand of death relieves them; and the spectacle of such frightful agonies must, if anything can, operate as a due example to deter others from similar acts of perfidy and treason towards their benefactors.

As the imperial treasury remained at Agrah, and it seemed inconsistent with good policy, in so early a stage of my authority, to continue long among the disaffected hypocrisies at Lahour, I now quitted that place on my return to the metropolis, leaving the unhappy Khossrou a prey to the visitations of shame and remorse, in the custody of Dillawar Khaun, who had instructions to watch over him with unremitting vigilance. A son ought, indeed, always to be considered as the stay of monarchy ; to continue, therefore, in a state of disunion and hostility with such would be to sap the foundations of its prosperity. Never have I permitted myself, either in this or any other instance, to be misled by injudicious counsels ; my proceedings, as far as they were under my control, being ever governed by the dictates of my own reason and my own experience ; constantly have I borne in mind the observation of that best of guides, my father, that there were two things of permanent utility to the sons of sovereign princes, prudence and fidelity in availing yourself of opportunities ; the one indispensable to the preservation of sovereign power, and the other to the maintenance of a course of good fortune. But too frequently felicity in promoting a career of prosperity is found extremely inconstant, after a very limited period it slips through our fingers never to return.

But to resume the narrative. On the 26th of the month of Suffer, of the year 1015, I returned to the metropolis of Agrah. I cannot omit to describe that in sorrow for his past misconduct, the unhappy Khossrou neither ate nor drank for the space of three days and three nights, which he consumed in tears and groans, hunger and thirst, and all those tokens of deep repentance, peculiar only to those on earth who have sustained the character of prophets and saints, but who have nevertheless, found that a slight daily repast was still necessary to the support of life. It may be superfluous to remark, that an abstinence carried to the extremity of an entire fast for three days and three nights

together, would inevitably have sent them on the fourth day to the bosom of mercy.¹⁰

(Of a certain Kalujen or Kumbujen, it is impossible to ascertain which, the imperial narrator proceeds to state as follows :)

In zeal and diligence, and attention to the duties of his trust, he far surpassed his father. By night and by day he was unremitting in his attendance ; wet or dry, rain or fair, leaning upon his staff, he would continue to read to me from night till morn. Neither did he discontinue his practice even when forming one of the suite on my hunting parties. For these services I had, previous to my accession, conferred upon him the order of 1,000 horse, and I subsequently advanced him to that of 2,000. He is now, however, from his increasing corpulence, become in a great degree incapable of discharging the duties of his office with the activity which formerly distinguished him. I shall here remark, in passing, that kings do not look so much to the persons of men as to their services ; and exactly in proportion as these latter improve in merit, so will be the advancement in favour, wealth and dignity.

On the first day of every month, it was the rule with my father to set the example to his ameirs by discharging his musket, and this was followed by the whole train, from the highest dignitary to the lowest stipendiary enrolled in the service of the State, whether cannonier or matchlock-man. But this discharge of artillery and musquetry never occurred but on that single occasion ; unless, of course in battle. In imitation of the same example, I have continued the practice, a shot from my gun Droostandauz being followed by one from every individual in my armies, high or low.

¹⁰ *The whole of this passage, from some omission on the part of the transcriber, has been difficult to translate into common sense.*

DWAZDA SALA JAHANGIRI

WAKI'AT-I JAHANGIRI

WE now proceed to consider the authentic Memoirs of Jahangir. At the outset we are met with a difficulty about the proper name to ascribe to this autobiography, and the matter has been slightly alluded to in the preceding article. The names which are given to the Memoirs, whether spurious or genuine, vary greatly. Besides the *Tarikh-i Salim-Shahi* and *Tuzak-i Jahangiri*, they are also called *Kar-namā Jahangiri*,¹¹ the *Waki' at-i Jahangiri*, the *Bayaz-i Jahangir*, the *Ikbāl-nama*, the *Jahangir-nama*¹² and the *Makalat-i Jahangiri*.¹³

Muhammad Hashim, in the Preface to his *Muntakhabu-l Lubab*, quotes among his authorities three several *Jahangir-namas* : first, that by Jahangir himself ; second, that by Mu'tamad Khan ; third, that by Mirza Kamgar, entitled Ghairal Khan, which was composed in order to correct sundry errors into which Mu'tamad Khan had fallen. Neither of these works is specially entitled to the name, the first being the "Memoirs," the second the *Ikbāl-nama*¹⁴ *Jahangiri*, and the third the *Ma-asir-i Jahangiri*.

¹¹ *Critical Essays on Various Manuscript Works*, p. 40. It is the name given to Ardishir's account of his travels and enterprises which was circulated by Naushirwan for the improvement of his subjects.—Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 95.

¹² *Ma-asiru-l Umara*, Preface. *Crit. Essays*, p. 39. Preface to *Tarikh-i Shahadat*, by Muhammad Bakhsh Ashob. Preface to the *Akhbar-i Muhabbat*. Preface to 4to. vol. of *Tarikh-i Nadiru-z Zamani*.

¹³ *Mir-at-i Aftab-numa*, MS., p. 382.

¹⁴ This word, signifying "a record of prosperity," is a common term applicable to panegyrical history. It is adopted in India in imitation of the great poet Nizami, the second part of his *Sikandar-nama* being so entitled.

I prefer calling this work the *Waki'at-i Jahangiri*, as being not only in conformity with the title usually given to the autobiography of Babar, but as being the one ascribed to it by the author of the *Mir-at-i Aftab-numa*, and as being in a measure authorized by a passage in the Memoirs themselves under the transactions of the first year of the reign. *Jahangir-nama* and *Bayaz* would also appear to be not unauthorized by different passages of the Memoirs. Perhaps *Maifuzat*; after the precedent of Timur's Memoirs, might have been more appropriate; but no author has ever quoted them under that designation.

Gladwin, who extracts from the work in the "Reign of Jahangir," published in A.D. 1788, speaks of them under the name of *Tuzak-i Jahangiri*, which he says are the Commentaries of the Emperor written by himself. In the catalogue of Captain Jonathan Scott's Library the *Tuzak* is said to be the same as the *Ma-asir-i Jahangiri*, which is altogether wrong.

The copy of the authentic work which I have had an opportunity of examining is in the possession of Major-General T. P. Smith, of the Bengal Army. It was copied for him at Lucknow, and at his desire collated by Saiyid Muhammad Khan, who procured with much trouble copies for the purpose of comparison from the Libraries of the King of Dehli, Raja Raghuband Singh, chief of Uchhaira, Nawab Faiz 'Ali Khan of Jhajjar, and several other places, and completed his task in the year 1843. A copy was sent to England for deposit in the Library of the East India House.

This work is prefaced by an Introduction and Conclusion by Muhammad Hadi, which will be noticed in another article. The autobiography is almost entirely different from the one translated by Major Price, and it may, therefore, perhaps be considered worthy of being translated, if it were only for the purpose of displacing the spurious version already given to the world, and which has attracted much observation from its supposed authenticity.

It is written in the form of Annals, giving chronologically the occurrences of each year of the reign. Major Price's translation, on the contrary, gives very few dates. The style is simple and inornate, and bears in some places the marks of negligence.

The royal author speaks of two different copies of his own Memoirs, the first edition comprising the period of twelve years only. In the transactions of the thirteenth year of the reign he tells us, that when the occurrences (*wakai*) of twelve years were transcribed from the *Jahangir-nama* into a fair copy (*bayaz*),¹⁵ he directed the writers of the Royal Library to make several copies of the history of these twelve years, and to bind them into a separate volume, and then he distributed them amongst his dependents for circulation throughout his dominions, in order that they might become a study and exemplar for their observance. The first copy which was prepared he presented to Shah Jahan, after writing on the back of it with his own hand the date and place of presentation. A little later, in the annals of the same year, we read of two more copies being given away.

The twelve-year work ends with the King's arrival at Ahmadabad in Gujarat, which occurred at the beginning of the thirteenth year of the reign. In the language there is no difference between that and the complete Memoirs, and in the former there are very few omissions, not amounting to more than 500 lines, so that it is evident that it was not re-compiled for the purpose of being included in the complete work. I have seen two copies, both commencing and ending in the same way; but, from several omissions, one was a third less than the other. The best contained 482 pages of 13 lines each.

This smaller work is evidently the one which Gladwin speaks of in his "Memoirs of Jahangir." He says (p. 92),

¹⁵ Usually a common-place book. The word also means "paper," "whiteness."

“They contain a minute account of the political and private conduct of his life from the commencement of his reign to the end of the twelfth year. They are universally admired for the purity, elegance, and simplicity of the style, and he appears in general to have exposed his own follies and weaknesses with great candour and fidelity. When he had completed the Memoirs of twelve years, he distributed several copies of them amongst his children and the principal officers of his Court. He continued these Memoirs with his own hand till the commencement of the seventeenth year of his reign, when, finding himself from ill-health unable to proceed, he from that period to the time of his death employed Mu'tamad Khan as his amanuensis. The whole of the continuation is exceedingly scarce; the compiler of this history not having been able to procure a sight of any other copy than the one which was lent him by his friend Colonel Polier.”

It will be observed hereafter that the name of the continuator is wrongly given, and that the real Memoir is extant to the end of the eighteenth, or rather the beginning of the nineteenth year.

That Gladwin never saw the larger work is probable from the style in which he speaks of the Memoirs above, and from his extracting nothing from them after the twelfth year, as well as from the tables of routes at the end of the history, which do not extend beyond Jahangir's arrival at Mandu, which occurred in the twelfth year of the reign, leaving out all the subsequent progresses to and from Gujarat, and in Upper India and Kashmir. It is doubtful whether Colonel Polier's copy, to which he alludes, contained the continuation ascribed to Mu'tamad Khan, or the continuation by the Emperor himself beyond the first twelve years, or merely the Memoirs of these twelve years.

It is strange that the author of the *Ma-asiru-l Umara*, who was a man of unusually large research, quotes in his Preface the *Jahangir-nama*, written by the Emperor, “in which he details the occurrences of twelve years of the

reign," so that he, too, could not have been in possession of a perfect copy, and we may therefore consider the Memoirs of eighteen years as a very rare work, almost unknown even in India itself. The author of the *Critical Essays* is among the few to whom it was known, because he says he never saw a copy which extended beyond the eighteenth year.

Respecting this more perfect work, Jahangir himself says in the annals of the seventeenth year of his reign, "On the 7th of the month of Azur, the ambassadors of Shah 'Abbas, who had been deputed several times to my Court, received honorary dresses, and took their leave. Shah 'Abbas had despatched by Haidar Beg a letter to me, apologizing for his conduct in the matter of Kandahar. An account of it with the attendant circumstances was entered in this *Ikkal-nama*.....

"As I still suffered from the weakness which had affected me during the last two years, I had neither heart nor head to think about the foul copies of my Memoirs. It was about this time that Mu'tamad Khan returned from the Dakhin and kissed the threshold. He was a faithful servant and pupil, and conducted himself to my satisfaction. He knew my disposition, and understood me in every respect. He was before this employed to write the occurrences (*wakai*) of my reign, and I now gave him an order to continue the Memoirs from the date up to which I had been writing, and place his narrative at the end of my foul copies (*musawidat*). I told him to write it in the form of a diary (*roznamcha*), and after submitting it for my corrections, it was afterwards to be copied into a book (*bayaz*). Moreover, at this time my mind was seriously engaged in making preparations for the expedition to Kandahar, and distracted by the anxiety I sustained upon learning the disaffection and excesses of Khurram."

It does not appear that Mu'tamad Khan ever strictly carried into effect the wishes of his royal master; and it is probable he never did anything more than abridge his

master's original, and after adding the concluding events, he compiled, under his own name, the work called *Ikbāl-nama*, which will shortly come under review.

Jahangir seems to have rewritten the events subsequent to the twelfth year about the same period that he left off adding to his Journal, for he sometimes alludes to events subsequent to that of the date of which he gives the occurrences. In the account, for instance, of the celestial phenomenon, which he records in the thirteenth year, he says the effects of it were felt for eight years subsequently.

Before concluding this notice, it may be well to observe, that the probable reason for the rarity of this volume is to be found in the fact that, in the latter parts of it, the conduct of Shah Jahan towards his father is so severely reproved that it would not have been safe to copy the work, that it was consequently suppressed through fear of Shah Jahan, and that after his long reign, it became almost forgotten, till the time of Muhammad Shah, when fortunately Muhammad Hadi undertook to edit it.

This will appear more probable, if we consider the following passage, which occurs in the seventeenth year of the reign, on the occasion of Jahangir's march towards Thatta to oppose his rebellious son. "I directed that henceforward he should be called 'Wretch,' and whenever the word 'Wretch' occurs in this *Ikbāl-nama*, it is he who is intended. I can safely assert that the kindness and instruction which I have bestowed upon him no King has ever yet bestowed upon a son. The favours which my respected father showed to my brothers I have shown ever to his servants. I exalted his titles, made him lord of a standard and drum, as may be seen recorded in this *Ikbāl-nama*, and the fact cannot be concealed from the readers of it. The pen cannot describe all that I have done for him, nor can I recount my own grief, or mention the anguish and weakness which oppress me in this hot climate, which is so injurious to my health, especially during these journeys and marchings which I am obliged to make in pursuit of him

who is no longer my son. Many nobles, too, who have been long disciplined under me, and would now have been available against the Uzbeks and the Kazilbashes, have, through his perfidy, met with their due punishment. May God in His Mercy enable me to bear up against all these calamities ! What is most grievous for me to bear is this, that this is the very time when my sons and nobles should have emulated each other in recovering Kandahar and Khurasan, the loss of which so deeply affects the honour of this empire, and to effect which this 'Wretch' is the only obstacle, so that the invasion of Kandahar is indefinitely postponed. I trust in God that I may shortly be relieved of this anxiety!"

No one could well have ventured to give currency to such imprecations during the life of Shah Jahan. The same objection would not apply to the twelve-year Memoirs, because in them he is mentioned throughout in extravagant terms of laudation.

(The present autobiography is longer than the one translated by Major Price. It is a plain and apparently ingenuous record of all that its author deemed worthy of note. The volume contains a good deal of matter quite uninteresting to a European reader, such as the promotions and honours bestowed upon the Emperor's followers, and the presents he gave and received ; but taken as a whole, the work is very interesting, and assuming that Jahangir is mainly responsible for its authorship, it proves him to have been a man of no common ability. He records his weaknesses, and confesses his faults, with candour, and a perusal of this work alone would leave a favourable impression both of his character and talents. Like his father, he was fond of jewels, and estimated their value as a true connoisseur. He was a mighty hunter, and took pleasure in sport, even in the later years of his life. He was a lover of nature, both animate and inanimate, and viewed it with a shrewd and observant eye. He mentions the peculiarities of many animals and birds, and shows that he watched

their habits with diligence and perserverance. Trees and fruits and flowers also come under his observation, and he gives his opinions upon architecture and gardening like one who had bestowed time and thought upon them. The Extracts which follow will enable the reader to form his opinion of the work. They have been translated by various hands, some by Sir H. M. Elliot, much by his private *munshi*, some by a person whose handwriting is unknown to the Editor, some by the Editor, and from the beginning of the fifteenth year entirely by the Editor himself. The MS. translation of several years appears to be nearly perfect, but only a small portion of it can be printed in this volume).

SIZE.—Small folio, containing 659 pages, of 15 lines to a page. (The copy belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society is also a small folio of 823 pages, of 15 lines each).

The commencement of both works is the same :

*az anayat bighayat ilahi yak sa'at najumi az ruz-i
panjshariyah hashtam jumada as sani hazar wa
chahardeh hijri guzashteh dar daru'l khilafat aghrah
dar 'umr-i si wa hasht salgi bar takht-i salstanat
jutus namudam.*

The *Dwazda-Sala Jahangiri* concludes at about the 150th line of the thirteenth year of the perfect Memoirs ; but as the same sentence is continued in them, it is probable that the real conclusion is, as one of my copies represents a few lines above, where he indulges in his complaint of the climate of Gujarat, and especially of Ahmadabad, which he said should be called Gardabad, the City of Dust ; Samumabad, the City of Pestilential Winds, and Jahan-namabad, the City of Hell.

*ham dar in waqt Khan 'alam ki nazd-i darayi iran
ba yalchigiri rafteh bud biguzasht baz ashnayi ki
bizaban-i farsi ukba miguyand peshkash firastadeh
bud az nazr guzasht.*

The conclusion of the larger work is as follows :

*dast tariz az daman namus wa khanmanan-i u kota
ast bifiragh-i khatir rawana gardad wa agar tawaq-
quf ra mustahat khwud midand har gu ki az in
mulk-i altamas numayad mifarmayim.*

The copy in the King of Dehli's Library gives the answer of Ibrahim Khan as part of the autobiography. In General Smith's copy it forms part of the continuation by Muhammad Hadi.

EXTRACTS

On Thursday, the 8th Jumada-s Sani, 1014, Hijra (12th October, 1605), I ascended the throne at Agra, in the thirty-eighth year of my age.

THE CHAIN OF JUSTICE

The first order which I issued was for the setting up of a Chain of Justice, so that if the officers of the Courts of Justice should fail in the investigation of the complaints of the oppressed, and in granting them redress, the injured persons might come to this chain and shake it, and so give notice of their wrongs. I ordered that the chain should be made of pure gold, and be thirty *gaz* long, with sixty bells upon it. The weight of it was four Hindustani *mans*, equal to thirty-two *mans* of 'Irak. One end was firmly attached to a battlement of the fort of Agra, the other to a stone column on the bank of the river.¹⁶

THE TWELVE INSTITUTES

I established twelve ordinances to be observed, and to be the common rule of practice throughout my dominions.

1. *Prohibition of cesses (zakat).*—I forbade the levy of duties under the names of *tamgha* and *mir-bahri*,¹⁷ together

¹⁶ See note 5, p. 13.

¹⁷ Price has "sermohary" instead of *mir-bahri*; but although his MS. is indistinct, there can be no doubt that *mir-bahri* is the

with the taxes of all descriptions which the *jagirdars* of every *suba* and *sarkar* had been in the habit of exacting for their own benefit.

2. *Regulation about highway robbery and theft.*—In those roads which were the scenes of robbery and theft, and in those portions of road which were far from habitations, the *jagirdars* of the neighbourhood were to build a *sarai* or a mosque, and they were to sink a well, to be the means of promoting cultivation, and to induce people to settle there. If these places were near to *khalisa* lands, the Government officials were to carry out these provisions.

3. *Free inheritance of property of deceased persons.* Firstly. No one was to open the packages of merchants on the roads without their consent. Secondly, when any infidel or Musulman died in any part of my dominions, his property and effects were to be allowed to descend by inheritance, without interference from any one. When there was no heir, then officers were to be appointed to take charge of the property, and to expend it according to the law of Islam, in building mosques and *sarais*, in repairing broken bridges, and in digging tanks and wells.

4. *Of wine and all kinds of intoxicating liquors.*—Wine,¹⁸ and every sort of intoxicating liquor is forbidden, and must neither be made nor sold; although I myself have been accustomed to take wine, and from my eighteenth year to the present, which is the thirty-eighth year of my age, have regularly partaken of it. In early days, when I craved for drink, I sometimes took as many as twenty cups of double-distilled liquor. In course of time it took great effect upon me, and I set about reducing the quantity. In

term used. His MS. reads "zakat, mir-bahri, and tamgha." But in all the MSS. of this version, "zakat" is part of the rubric. The words "three sources of revenue" which Price uses are not found in his text.

¹⁸ *Sharab*, lit. drink. Commonly used to signify wine, but spirits are included.

the period of seven years I brought it down to five or six cups. My times of drinking varied. Sometimes I began when two or three hours of the day remained, sometimes I took it at night and a little in the day. So it was until my thirtieth year, when I resolved to drink only at night, and at present I drink it only to promote digestion of my food.

5. *Prohibition of the taking possession of houses, and of cutting off the noses and ears of criminals.*—No one was to take up his abode in the dwelling of another. I made an order prohibiting every one from cutting off the noses or ears of criminals for any offence, and I made a vow to heaven that I would never inflict this punishment on any one.

6. *Prohibition of Ghasbi.*¹⁹—The officers of the *khalisa* lands and the *jagirdars* are not to take the lands of the *rai-yats* by force, and cultivate them on their own account. The collectors of the *khalisa* lands and the *jagirdars* are not without permission to form connexions with the people in their districts.

7. *Building of hospitals and appointment of physicians to attend the sick.*—Hospitals were to be built in large cities, and doctors were to be appointed to attend the sick. The expenses were to be paid from the royal treasury.

8. *Prohibition of the slaughter of animals on certain days.*—

In imitation of my honoured father, I directed that every year from the 18th of Rabi'u-l awwal, my birthday, no animals should be slaughtered for a number of days corresponding to the years of my age. In every week, also, two days were to be exempted from slaughter : Thursday, the day of my accession, and Sunday, the birthday of my father.

9. *Respect paid to the Sunday.*—He (my father) used to hold Sunday blessed, and to pay it great respect, because

¹⁹ In law, taking the property of another without his consent.

it is dedicated to the Great Luminary, and because it is the day on which the Creation was begun. Throughout my dominions this was to be one of the days on which killing animals is interdicted.

10. *General confirmation of mansabs and jagirs.*—I issued a general order that the *mansabs* and *jagirs* of my father's servants should be confirmed, and afterwards I increased the old *mansabs* according to the merit of each individual. He who held ten was not advanced to less than twelve, and the augmentation was sometimes as much as from ten to thirty or forty. The allowance (*'alufa*) of all the *ahadis* was advanced from ten to fifteen, and the monthly pay of all the domestics (*shagird-pesha*) was from ten to twelve or ten to twenty. The attendants upon the female apartments of my father were advanced according to their position and connexions from ten to twelve, or ten to twenty.

11. *Confirmation of aima lands.*—The *aima* and *madad-ma'ash lands* throughout my dominions, which are devoted to the purposes of prayer and praise, I confirmed according to the terms of the grant in the hands of each grantee. Miran, *Sadr-i-Jahan*, who is of the purest race of *Saiyids* in Hindustan, and held the office of *Sadr* in the days of my father, was directed to look after the poor every day.

12. *Amnesty for all prisoners in forts and in prisons of every kind.*—All prisoners who had been long confined in forts or shut up in prisons, I ordered to be set free.

NEW NAMES FOR THE COINS

(Gold and silver coins of various weights were struck, to each one of which I gave a distinct name. The coin of 100 *tolas* I called *Nur-i shahi*; the 50 *tolas*, *Nur-i sultani*; the 20 *tolas*, *Nur-i daulat*; the 10 *tolas*, *Nur-i karm*; the 5 *tolas*, *Nur-i mihr*; the 1 *tola*, *Nur-i-jahani*; the $\frac{1}{2}$ *tola*, *Nurani*; the $\frac{1}{4}$ *tola*, *Rawaji*. Silver coins.—I called the 100

tolas, *Kaukab-i tali*; the 50 *tolas*, *Kaukab-i bakhi*; the 5 *tolas*, *Kaukab-i sa'd*; the 1 *tola*, *Jahangiri*; the $\frac{1}{2}$ *tola*, *Sultani*; the $\frac{1}{4}$ *tola*, *Aishyari*; the 10th of a *tola*, *Khair-kabul*. The copper coins in like manner each received a name). (*Legends on the coins*).

Hardas Rai, who had received from my father the title of Rai Rayan, and from me that of Raja Bikramajit (after one of the most celebrated Rajas of Hindustan, the founder of an Indian Observatory), was honoured by me with marks of the highest distinction. I made him commandant of artillery, with directions to keep 50,000 gunners and 3,000 gun-carriages always in a state of readiness. Bikramajit was a Khatri by caste. He was in my father's time examiner of the expenditure on the elephants, and was afterwards raised to the exalted grade of *diwan*, and enrolled among the nobles of the Court. He was not destitute of gallantry and judgment.

As it was my intention to satisfy, as far as possible, all the old dependents of my father, I issued orders to the *bakhshis*, that every one of them who wished to obtain a *jagir* in his own country must apply for a grant to that effect, and that, in accordance with the Institutes of Changiz, he should be rewarded with an *Altamgha* grant, and enjoy the same without apprehension of change or removal. My ancestors, whenever they wished to bestow a *jagir* in proprietary right, used to stamp the grant with an *Altamgha* seal, which means one to which red ink is applied. I ordered that the place of the seal should be covered with gold-leaf, and then stamped with the *Altamgha* seal. Hence I named it *Altuntamgha*—that is, the gold seal.

Mirza Sultan, the favourite son of Mirza Shah Rukh, and grandson of Mirza Sulaiman, the descendant of Mirza Sultan Abu Sa'id, chief of Badakhshan, was elevated to the grade of 1,000. I had asked my father to allow him to be on my establishment. Hence I brought him up, and treated him as a son. Bhao Singh, the ablest son of Raja

Man Singh, was rewarded by a *mansab* of 1,500, retaining his former office, and Zamana Beg, son of Ghayur Beg Kabuli, had gained the dignity of 500, by serving me when I was Prince as an Ahadi. He now, having received the title of Mahabat Khan and a *mansab* of 1,500, was nominated paymaster of my household. Raja Nar Singh Deo, one of the Bundela Rajputs, stood high in my favour. He was as brave, kind-hearted, and pure as any man of his age. I elevated him to the dignity of 3,000. The cause of his elevation was the murder of Abu-l Fazl, a descendant of one of the Shaikhs of Hindustan, distinguished for his talents and wisdom. About the close of my father's reign, Abu-l Fazl, wearing upon his plausible exterior the jewel of probity, which he sold to my father at high price, was summoned from his appointment in the Dakhin to the Royal Court. He was not my friend. He inwardly nourished evil intentions towards me, and did not scruple to speak ill of me.

MURDER OF ABU-L FAZL

The details of the murder of Shaikh Abu-l Fazl are thus described : Certain vagabonds had caused a misunderstanding between me and my father. The bearing of the Shaikh fully convinced me that if he were allowed to arrive at Court, he would do everything in his power to augment the indignation of my father against me, and ultimately prevent my ever appearing before him. Under this apprehension, I negotiated with Nar Sing Deo. His country lay on the high road of the Shaikh from the Dakhin, and he at that period was engaged on a plundering expedition. I sent him a message, inviting him to annihilate Shaikh Abu-l Fazl on his journey, with promises of favours and considerable rewards. Nar Singh Deo agreed to this, and God rendered his aid to the success of the enterprise. When the Shaikh passed through his territory, the Raja closed upon him and his followers. They were in a short time put to flight, and he himself murdered. His head was

sent to me at Allahabad. Although my father was exasperated at this catastrophe, yet in the end I was able to visit him without any anxiety or apprehension, and by degrees his sorrow wore away, and he received me with friendliness.

DISCUSSION WITH LEARNED HINDUS

One day I observed to some learned Hindus that if the foundation of their religion rested upon their belief in the ten incarnate gods, it was entirely absurd; because in this case it became necessary to admit that the Almighty, who is infinite, must be endowed with a definite breadth, length, and depth. If they meant that in these bodies the supreme light was visible, it is equally visible in all things, it is not limited to them alone; and that if they said that these incarnate gods, were the emblems of His particular attributes, it is also not admissible, for, amongst the people of all religions, there have flourished persons who performed miracles, and were possessed of much greater power and talents than others of their time. After a long discourse, they at last admitted that there was a God who had no corporeal form, and of whom they had no definite notion. They said that as to understand that singular and invisible Being was beyond their comprehension, they could not form any idea of Him but by the means of some natural objects, and therefore they had made these ten figures the medium of raising their minds up to the Supreme God. I then told them that they could not attain that end by this means.

PORTRAIT OF THE EMPEROR AKBAR

My father used to hold discourse with learned men of all persuasions, particularly with the Pandits and the intelligent persons of Hindustan. Through he was illiterate,²⁰ yet

²⁰ *The word used is ummiy "one who can neither read nor write, an idiot."*

from constantly conversing with learned and clever persons, his language was so polished, that no one could discover from his conversation that he was entirely uneducated. He understood even the elegancies of poetry and prose so well, that it is impossible to conceive any one more proficient. The following is a description of his person. He was of middling stature, but with a tendency to be tall, wheat-colour complexion, rather inclining to dark than fair, black eyes and eyebrows, stout body, open forehead and chest, long arms and hands. There was a fleshy wart, about the size of a small pea, on the left side of his nose, which appeared exceedingly beautiful, and which was considered very auspicious by physiognomists, who said that it was the sign of immense riches and increasing prosperity. He had a very loud voice, and a very elegant and pleasant way of speech. His manners and habits were quite different from those of other persons, and his visage was full of godly dignity.

FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN²¹

Remission of Transit Duties

As I had removed the practice of levying transit duties, which amounted to many *krors* of rupees, throughout all the protected territories, I also extended the same indulgence to all the commercial places on the way between Kabul and Hindustan, the transit duties of which were collected annually to the amount of one *kror* and twenty-three *lacs* of *dams*. The whole transit duties of both provinces, viz. Kabul and Kandahar, were paid to the public treasury, and they formed the principal part of the income

²¹ *Jahangir counts the years of his reign by the solar reckoning, and the first year of his reign as commencing on the New Year's Day next after his accession, with the entrance of the Sun into Aries, which corresponded with the 11th Zi-l ka'da, 1014 A.H. 10th March, 1606 A.D.*

of those provinces. I removed the practice altogether, and this contributed much to the prosperity and benefit of the people of Iran and Turan.

FLIGHT AND REBELLION OF PRINCE KHUSRU²²

In the first year after my accession Khusru, influenced by the petulance and pride which accompany youth, by his want of experience and prudence, and by the encouragement of evil companions, got some absurd notions into his head. In the time of my father's illness some short-sighted men, trembling for their crimes and despairing of pardon, conceived the idea of raising him to the throne, and of placing the reins of the State in his hands. They never reflected that sovereignty and government cannot be managed and regulated by men of limited intelligence. The Supreme Dispenser of Justice gives this high mission to those whom he chooses, and it is not every one that can becomingly wear the robes of royalty.

The vain dreams of Khusru and his foolish companions could end in nothing but trouble and disgrace; so when I obtained the sovereignty, I confined (*girifta*) him, and quieted my doubts and apprehensions. Still I was anxious to be kind and considerate to him, and to cure him of his ridiculous notions; but it was all in vain. At length he concocted a scheme with his abettors, and on the night of the 20th Zi-l hijja, he represented that he was going to visit the tomb of my father. Fifty horsemen in his interest came into the fort of Agra, and went off in that direction. A little afterwards, intelligence was brought that Khusru had escaped. The *Amiru-l umara* having ascertained the fact, sent into my private apartments, desiring to

²² This account of Khusru's rebellion has been translated by the Editor. It is the Emperor's own version of this important episode of his reign, and it will afford the means of comparing the two different versions of his Memoirs. See the account of the same transaction from the other version, *supra*, p. 15-16.

speaking with me on an urgent affair. I thought that perhaps some news had come from the Dakhin or from Gujarat. When I heard what had occurred, I said, "What is to be done, shall I mount and pursue him, or shall I send Khurram?" The *Amiru-l umara* said he would go if I would give him permission, and I said, "Be it so." He then said, "If he will not be persuaded to return, and force becomes necessary, what am I to do?" I said, "If he will not return to the right way without fighting, do not consider what you may do as a fault—sovereignty does not regard the relation of father and son, and it is said, a king should deem no one his relation." After having spoken these words, and settled some other matters, I sent him off. It then came to my recollection, that Khusru had a great hatred of him. He (the *Amiru-l umara*) also, in consequence of the position and dignity that he holds, is envious of his peers, God forbid lest he should be malicious and destroy him! So I sent to call him back, and I despatched Shaikh Farid Bokhari on the service, directing him to take all the *mansabdars* and *ahadis* he could collect. I determined that I myself would start as soon as it was day..... The news came in that Khusru was pressing forward to the Panjab, but the thought came to my mind that he might perhaps be doing this as a blind, his real intention being to go elsewhere. Raja Man Singh, who was in Bengal, was Khusru's maternal uncle, and many thought Khusru would proceed thither. But the men who had been sent out in all directions confirmed the report of his going towards the Panjab.

Next morning I arose, and placing my reliance on God, I mounted and set off, not allowing myself to be detained by any person or anything. When I reached the tomb of my honoured father, which is about three *kos* distant, I offered up prayers for the aid of his protecting spirit. Mirza Hasan, son of Shah Rukh Mirza, who had formed the design of joining Khusru, was brought in. I questioned him, but he denied the intention. I ordered them to bind his hands, and carry him back on an elephant.

This capture I took as a good omen of the blessed assistance vouchsafed to me by that departed spirit.

At mid-day, when it became hot, I rested under the shade of some trees, and I observed to Khan-i 'azam, that I had been so engrossed with this unhappy matter that I had not taken the allowance of opium I usually took in the fore-part of the day, and that no one had reminded me of it. My distress arose from the thought that my son, without any cause or reason, had become my enemy, and that if I did not exert myself to capture him, dissatisfied and turbulent men would support him, or he would of his own accord go off to the Uzbeks or Kazilbashs, and thus dishonour would fall upon my throne. Determined on the course to be pursued, after a short rest, I started from the *pargana* of Mathura, which is twenty *kos* from Agra, and after travelling two *kos* farther, I halted at one of the villages of that *pargana*, in which there was a tank.

When Khusru arrived at Mathura, he met Hasan Beg Khan Badakhshi, who had received favours from my father, and was coming from Kabul to wait upon me. The Badakhshis are by nature quarrelsome and rebellious, and when Khusru, with his two or three hundred men, fell in with him, Khusru made him commander of his men.²³ Every one whom they met on the road they plundered, and took from him his horse or goods. Merchants and travellers were pillaged, and wherever these insurgents went, there was no security for the women and children. Khusru saw with his own eyes that a cultivated country was being wasted and oppressed, and their atrocities made people feel that death was a thousand times preferable. The poor people had no resource but to join them. If fortune had been at all friendly to him, he would have been overwhelmed with shame and repentance, and would have come to me without the least apprehension. It is well known how I pardoned his offences, and with what great kindness and

²³ A very involved and obscure passage.

gentleness I treated him, so as to leave no ground for suspicion in his breast. When, during the days of my father, he was incited by designing men to entertain improper aspirations, he knew that the fact had been communicated to me, but he showed no trust in my kindness.

His mother even, in the days when I was a prince, being grieved by his very unseemly acts, and by the unkindness of her younger brother Madhu Singh, took poison and died!²⁴ How can I describe her excellences and good nature! She had an excellent understanding, and her affection for me was such that she would have given a thousand sons or brothers as a ransom for one hair of mine. She frequently wrote to Khusrū, and urged upon him the proofs of my kindness and affection, but it was all without effect; and when she found that there was no knowing to what lengths he would go, her Rajput pride was wounded, and she set her heart upon death. From time to time her mind wandered, and her father and brothers all agreed in telling me she was insane. After a time she appeared to recover, but on the 26th Zi-l hijja, 1013 H., when I had gone out hunting, she, in a state of aberration, took an excessive quantity of opium, and died soon afterwards, hoping that her fate would bring her undutiful son to contrition. She was my first bride, and I was married to her in youth. After the birth of Khusrū, I gave her the title of Shah Begam. Unable to endure the ill-conduct of her son and brothers towards me, she gave up her life, and so relieved herself from vexation and sorrow. Her death took such an effect upon me that I did not care to live, and had no pleasure in life. For four nights and days, that is for thirty-two watches, in the depth of distress and sorrow, I did not care to eat or drink. When my father heard of my state, in his extreme kindness and affection, he sent me a robe and the turban which he had worn upon his own head. This great favour fell like water

²⁴ See *Takmila-i Akbar-nama of Inayatu-lla*. (See vol. ix).

on the flaming fire of my affliction, and gave me relief and comfort. But the recital of all this had no effect upon Khusru. By his wicked and unfilial conduct he had caused the death of his mother, and for no reason, but from mere freak and vicious fancy, he had broken out in rebellion against me, and thrown off all duty and obedience. It was necessary to punish his evil conduct, and at last he carried matters to such a length that he was placed in confinement.

On the 2nd Zi-l hijja I halted at Hindal, and sent Shaikh Farid Bokhari with some men in pursuit of Khusru, and I gave him the command of the advance force. I sent Dost Muhammad to take care of Agra, and of the palaces and treasure. When I departed from Agra, I left that city in charge of 'Itimadu-d daula and Waziru-l Mulk. I now told Dost Muhammad that as I was going to the Panjab, and that province was under the *diwani* of 'Itimadu-d daula, he was to send the latter to me, and that he was to seize and keep in confinement the sons of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, who were in Agra ; for if my own son could act in the way he had done, what might I expect from my uncle's sons ? After the departure of Dost Muhammad, Mu'izzu-l Mulk became *bakshi*.

I halted at Palol and Faridabad, and on the 13th reached Dehli. There I visited the tomb of my grandfather Humayun, and distributed alms to the poor. Then I went to the tomb of Nizamu-d din Auliya, and there also I had my bounty dispensed among the poor and needy. On the 14th Ramazan, I halted at the *Sarai* of Narila. Khusru had set fire to this *sarai*, and then passed on..... On the 16th I halted in the *pargana* of Panipat, a place which had always been a fortunate one for my ancestors, and where two important victories had been won by them : one, the victory gained by Babar over Ibrahim Lodi ; the other, the victory over Himu by my honoured father. When Khusru left Dehli and got to Panipat, it happened that Dilawar Khan had reached that place. The Khan received a short

warning of his approach, and immediately sent his sons over the Jumna, while he pressed forward to throw himself into the fortress of Lahore before Khusru could arrive there. About the same time, 'Abdu-r Rahim arrived from Lahore at the same place. Dilawar Khan advised him to send his sons over the river in the company of Dilawar's own sons, and himself to await my arrival. He was alarmed and timid; he could not resolve upon this course: but he delayed till Khusru arrived, and then he waited upon him and joined him.

Dilawar Khan bravely pushed on towards Lahore. On his way he informed every Government servant, and every *krori* merchant or other traveller he met, of the rebellion of Khusru. Some he took with him, and some he warned to keep out of the way. After this the people were saved from the violence of the rebels. It seems very probable that, if Saiyid Kamal in Dehli, and Dilawar Khan at Panipat, had shown any vigour, and had thrown themselves in the way of Khusru, the disorderly party which accompanied him would have been unable to make any resistance, and would have broken up, when Khusru would have been taken prisoner. Their courage did not serve them on this occasion, but both of them made up for the deficiency afterwards.

Dilawar Khan, by rapid marching, reached Lahore before Khusru, and exerted himself to put the fortress in a state of defence to repel the rebel. Kamal also had done his best to stop the rebel, as will be noticed in its proper place. On the 18th Zi-l hijja I reached Karnal, where I halted..... On the 19th I stopped at Shahabad, where there was great scarcity of water; but a heavy rain now fell, and gladdened every one..... At Aloda I sent Abu-l Bani Uzbek with fifty-seven *mansabdars* to the support of Shaikh Farid, and I also sent by them 40,000 rupees for expenses. Seven thousand were given to Jamil Beg, to pay arrears, and I also gave 18,000 to Mir Sharif Amali.

On the 24th Zi-l hijja five of Khusru's followers were.

captured and brought in. Two of them who had entered into his service I ordered to be cast before elephants; the other three denied having undertaken to serve him; and they were placed under restraint till the truth could be ascertained..... On the 24th Farwardin, a messenger arrived from Dilawar Khan to inform me, that Khusru was threatening Lahore, and to warn me to be cautious. On that same day the gates of Lahore were closed and secured, and two days afterwards Dilawar Khan entered the fortress with a few men. He immediately began to strengthen the place, repairing damages, mounting guns on the ramparts, and making all preparations for a siege. There was but a small force of troops in the place, but they were earnest, and had been appointed to their respective posts. The men of the city also were loyal and zealous.

Two days afterwards, when the preparations were complete, Khusru arrived before the city, and commenced operations. He directed his followers to burn one of the gates in any way they could, and he promised them that after the capture of the fortress the place should be given up to plunder for seven days, and that the women and children should be their prisoners. The desperate villians set fire to one of the gates, but Dilawar Khan and the other officers inside the walls raised up another barrier²⁵ at the gate. Sa'id Khan, who was encamped on the Chinab, being informed of these movements, marched rapidly to Lahore. On reaching the river Ravi, he informed the garrison of his presence, and requested them to find a means of bringing him into the fortress. They sent twenty boats, and brought him and some of his followers in.

On the ninth day of the siege Khusru was informed of the approach of the Imperial army in pursuit of him and his adherents. Having no resource, he deemed it desirable to encounter the royal forces. Lahore is one of the largest cities in Hindustan, and in the course of six

²⁵ *A doubtful word. Two MSS. have mahazi, another bakharri, and a fourth leaves a blank.*

or seven days a great number of men had been got together. I had been well informed that 10,000 or 12,000 men were ready to march away from Lahore, and to make a night attack on the van of my army. This intelligence reached me on the night of the 16th, in the garden of Agha Kuli. On the night of the 20th, although it was raining heavily, I marched and on the following morning reached Sultanpur. I remained there till mid-day, and just at that time a great action began between the royal army and the rebels. Mu'izzu-l Mulk had just brought me some food, and I was about to enjoy myself, when the news of the battle reached me. Directly I heard it, although I had very good appetite, I merely swallowed a mouthful for good luck, and then mounted. Aware of the smallness of the force engaged, and anxious to bring up my men, I determined to press on with all speed night and day. I called for my great coat, but nobody brought it, and the only arms I had were a javelin and sword. Confiding myself to the favour of God, I started without hesitation. At first my escort did not exceed fifty horse, and no one knew that a battle was on that day imminent. At the bridge of Govindwal my men numbered four or five hundred, good and bad. After crossing the bridge, intelligence of victory reached me. The man who brought it was an officer of the wardrobe named Shamshir, and to him I gave the title of Khush-khabr Khan. Mir Jamalu-d din, whom I had before sent to warn Khusru, arrived just at the same time, and he spoke so much about the numbers and strength of Khusru, that my men were frightened, until the news of victory was confirmed by successive messengers. This Saiyid was a simple fellow. He would not believe the report, but expressed his incredulity that an army such as he had seen could have been vanquished by so small and unprepared a force as that of Shaikh Farid. But when the litter of Khusru was brought in attended by two eunuchs, he then believed, and alighting from his horse, he placed his head at my feet and offered his congratulations.

Shaikh Farid had acted in this battle with the greatest zeal and fidelity. He placed the Saiyids of Barha, the heroes of the age, in the advance, and they fought most bravely. Saif Khan, son of Saiyid Mahmud Khan, the chief of the tribe, greatly distinguished himself, and received eighteen wounds. Saiyid Jalal, another of the tribe, received an arrow in the head, and died in a few days. The Saiyids of Barha in this action did not exceed fifty or sixty in number. These Saiyids repulsed the attack of 1,000 horse and 500 Badakhshis, and were cut to pieces. Saiyid Kamal, with his brothers was sent to support the advanced force, and he attacked the enemy vigorously in flank. The right wing, shouting, "Long Live the King!" bore down, and the enemy, stricken with panic, broke and fled in all directions. Nearly 400 of the enemy were killed, and Khusru's chest of jewels and trinkets, which he always carried with him was captured.....

I placed Mahabat Khan and 'Ali Beg Akbarshahi in command of a force to pursue Khusru wherever he should go. I also determined that if he went to Kabul, I would follow him, and not return till I had got him into my hands. If he should not stay in Kabul, but go off to Badakhshan, and those parts, I would leave Mahabat Khan in Kabul, and follow him thither, lest he might ally himself to the Uzbeks, and bring disgrace to my throne.....

On the 28th my camp rested at Jahan, seven *kos* from Lahore. On that day Khusru came with a few followers to the banks of the Chinab. After his defeat, the opinions of those who escaped with him differed. The Afghans and the Hindustanis, who were mostly his oldest adherents, wished to turn back to Hindustan, and there raise disturbances. Husain Beg, whose wives and children and treasure were in the direction of Kabul, was in favour of going towards Kabul. When he resolved upon the latter course, the Afghans and Hindustanis separated from him. Upon reaching the Chinab, he wanted to cross at Shahpur, one of the regular ferries; but as he could not get boats, he

went to the ferry of Sudhara. There they found one boat without boatmen, and another boat made of wood and straw. Before the defeat of Khusru, an order had been issued to all the *jagirdars*, road-keepers, and ferrymen of the Panjab, informing them of what had happened, and warning them to be careful. In consequence of this notice, the ferries and rivers were watched. Husain Beg was about to take the two boats and send Khusru over. But just at this juncture, a *chaudhari* of Sudhara came up, and saw that a party of men were going to cross over the river by night. He expostulated with the boatmen of the wood and straw boat, and told them that the Emperor's order was, that no boat should pass over by night. The contention and noise brought a number of men together, and the boat was taken away from the boatmen, and no one would convey them over. Abu-l Kasim Khan, who had charge of the ferry at Gujarat, when he was informed that a party of men wanted to cross the Chinab, proceeded to the place with his sons and some horsemen. Husain Beg..... got four boats, and attempted to cross; but the last one stuck on a sand-bank. At daybreak Abu-l Kasim, and Khwaja Khizr, who was director of the boatmen, assembled a party and secured the western bank of the river. The eastern bank was occupied by the *zamindars*. A force which I had sent under Sa'id Khan now came up at a most opportune time, and assisted to capture Khusru. On the 29th of the month, men riding on elephants and in boats secured him. Next day I heard of his capture, and I immediately sent the *Amiru-l umara* to bring Khusru, to my presence. In matters of Government and State it frequently happens that one has to act upon one's own judgment. Of the councils I have held, there are two which are remarkable. First, when, in opposition to the counsel of all my friends, I left Allahabad, and went to wait upon my father, through which I obtained his pardon, and became King. Second, when I resolved instantly to pursue Khusru, and not to rest till I had taken him..... On the 3rd of Muharram,

1015 A.H., Khusru was brought into my presence in the garden of Mirza Kamran, with his hands bound and a chain on his leg, and he was led up from the left side, according to the rule of Changiz Khan. Husain Beg was on his right, and 'Abdu-l 'Aziz on his left; he stood between them, trembling and weeping. Husain Beg, suspecting that they would make a scape-goat of him, began to speak sorrowfully, but they did not allow him to continue. I gave Khusru into custody, and I ordered these two villains to be inclosed in the skins of a cow and an ass, and to be placed on asses, face to the tail, and so to be paraded round the city. As the skin of a cow dries quicker than the skin of an ass, Husain Beg lived only to the fourth watch and then died. 'Abdul 'Aziz, who was in the ass's skin, and had moisture conveyed to him,²⁶ survived.

From the last Jay of Zi-l hijja till the 9th Muharram, in consequence of bad weather, I remained in the garden of Mirza Kamran. I attributed the success gained in this expedition to Shaikh Farid, and I dignified him with the title of Murtaza Khan. To strengthen and confirm my rule, I directed that a double row of stakes should be set up from the garden to the city, and that the rebel *awaimaks*,²⁷ and others who had taken part in this revolt, should be impaled thereon, and thus receive their deserts in this most excruciating punishment. The land-holders between the Chinab and Behat who had proved their loyalty, I rewarded by giving to each one of them some lands as *madad-ma'ash*.....

The disposal of Khusru still remained unsettled. As

²⁶ "In the excess of his impudence he drew a dog's skin over his face (i.e., he acted like a dog), and as he was led through the streets and bazars, he ate cucumbers and anything else containing moisture that fell into his hands. He survived the day and night. Next day the order was given for taking him out of the skin. There were many maggots in his skins, but he survived it all."—*Ikbal-nama*.

²⁷ See *supra*, p. 18-19.

the vicinity of Agra was a hot-bed of disaffection, I was desirous that it should be cleared of dangerous persons, lest these pretensions of Khusru should be backed up and kept alive. So I directed my son Parwez to leave several *sardars* to carry on the campaign against the Rana, and to proceed himself with Asaf Khan and 200 others to Agra, and there to undertake the control and protection of the city. But before they arrived there, Khusru's attempt had been crushed to the satisfaction of my friends, so I directed Parwez to come and meet me. On the 9th Muharram I entered Lahore. My friends and well-wishers advised me to return to Agra, because Gujarat, the Dakhin, and Bengal were all in a disordered state. But this advice did not approve itself to me, because I had learnt from the letters of Shah Beg Khan, the ruler of Kandahar, sundry facts all tending to show that the *amirs* of the frontier of the Kazilbash had designs upon Kandahar..... Intelligence reached me at Lahore, that the Kazilbash had inclosed the fort of Kandahar on three sides, and it was evident that further delay would be dangerous ; so I sent a force thither under the command of Ghazi Beg Khan and..... With a view to prevent the threatened danger, I determined to proceed to Kabul, and to postpone my proposed excursion round about Lahore.

SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN

The second new year of my auspicious reign began on the 2nd Zi-l Ka'da, 1015 A.H. (10th March, 1603 A.D.).

JOURNEY TO KABUL

On the 7th of Zi-l hijja, at a prosperous hour, I left the fort of Lahore, and crossing the Ravi, alighted at the garden of Dilamez, and stopped there for four days. I passed Sunday, the 19th of Farwardin, which was the day of the Sun's entry into Aries, in that garden. Some of my servants were favoured with promotion. Ten thousand

rupees in cash were given to Husain Beg, the ambassador of the ruler of Iran. I left Kalij Khan, Miran Sadr-jahan, and Mir Sharif Amali at Lahore, and authorized them to conduct all transactions in concert with each other.

On Monday I marched from the garden to the village called Haripur, three and a half *kos* from the city. On Tuesday, my flags waved in Jahangirpur, which was a hunting ground of mine. Near this village a minaret was raised by my orders over an antelope of mine, called "Raj," which was not only the best fighter in my possession, but the best decoy for wild ones. Mulla Muhammad Husain of Kashmir, who in caligraphy excelled all persons of his profession, had engraved the following words on a piece of stone: "In this delightful spot an antelope was caught by the Emperor Nuru-d din Muhammad Jahangir, which in the space of a month became entirely tame, and was considered the best of all the royal antelopes." Out of regard to this animal I ordered that no one should hunt antelopes in this forest, and that their flesh should be considered as unlawful as that of a cow to the infidel Hindus, and as that of a hog to the Musulmans. The stone of its tomb was carved into the shape of a deer. I ordered Sikandar Mai, the *jagirdar* of the *pargana*, to erect a fort in Jahangirpur.

On Thursday, the 14th, we encamped in the *pargana* of Chandwala, and, after one intervening stage, arrived on Saturday at Hafizabad, and put up in the buildings erected under the super-intendence of Mir Kiranu-d din, who held the office of *krori* at that station. In two marches more I reached the banks of the Chinab.

On Thursday, the 21st Zi-l hijja, I crossed the river over a bridge of boats, and pitched my tents in the *pargana* of Gujarat. When the Emperor Akbar was proceeding to Kashmir, he built a fort on the other side of the river, and made the Gujars, who had been hitherto devoted to plunder, dwell there. The place was consequently named Gujarat, and formed into a separate *pargana*. The Gujars

live chiefly upon milk and curds, and seldom cultivate land.

On Friday, we arrived at Khawaspur, five *kos* from Gujarat, which was peopled by Khawas Khan, a servant of Sher Khan Pathan. Beyond it, after two marches, we reached the banks of the Behat, and pitched our tents there. In the night a very strong wind blew, dark clouds obscured the sky, and it rained so heavily that even the oldest persons had never seen such rain within their memory. The rain ended with showers of hail-stones which were as large as hens' eggs. The torrent of water and the wind combined broke the bridge. I with my ladies crossed the river in a boat, and as there were but very few boats for the other men to embark on, I ordered that they should wait till the bridge was repaired, which was accomplished in a week, when the whole camp crossed the river without any trouble.

The source of the river Behat is a fountain in Kashmir, called Virnag. The name signifies in the Hindi language a snake, and it appears that at one time a very large snake haunted the spot. I visited this source twice during the life-time of my father. It is about twenty *kos* from the city of Kashmir. The spring rises in a basin, of an octangular form, about twenty yards in length, by twenty in breadth. The vestiges of the abodes of devotees, numerous chambers made of stone, and caves, are in the neighbourhood. Its water is so clear that although its depth is said to be beyond estimation, yet if a poppy-seed be thrown in, it will be visible till it reaches the bottom. There are very fine fish in it. As I was told that the fountain was unfathomably deep, I ordered a stone to be tied to the end of a rope and thrown into it, and thus it was found that its depth did not exceed the height of a man and a half. After my accession, I ordered its sides to be paved with stones, a garden to be made round it, and the stream which flowed from it to be similarly decorated on both sides. Such elegant chambers and edifices were raised on each side

of the basin, that there is scarcely anything to equal it throughout the inhabited world.²⁸ The river expands much when it reaches near the village of Pampur, which is ten *kos* from the city,

All the saffron of Kashmir is the product of this village. Perhaps there is no other place in the world where saffron is so abundantly produced : the quantity annually yielded there being 500 *maunds* of Hindustan, or 4,000 *maunds* of Kabul (*Wilayat*). I visited this place once with my father in the season in which the plant blossoms. In all other trees we see they first get the branches, then the leaves, and after all the flower. But it is otherwise with this plant. It blossoms when it is only about two inches high from the ground. Its flower is of a bluish colour, having four leaves and four threads of orange colour, like those of safflower, in length equal to one joint of the finger. The fields of saffron are sometimes a *kos*, sometimes half a *kos* in length, and they look very beautiful at a distance. In the season when it is collected, it has such a strong smell that people get headache from it. Although I had taken a glass of wine, yet I was also affected by it. I asked the Kashmirians, who were employed in collecting it, whether it took any effect upon them, and was surprised by the reply, which was, "they did not know even what the headache was."

The stream that flows from the fountain of Virnag is called Behat in Kashmir and becomes a large river, when it is joined by many other smaller ones on both sides. It runs through the city. In some places its breadth does not exceed the reach of an arrow shot from a bow. Nobody drinks its water, because it is very dirty and unwholesome. All people drink from a tank called Dal, which is near the city. The river Behat, after falling into

²⁸ Compare Forster's *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 4; Von Hugel's *Kaschmir*, vol. i. p. 291; Vigne's *Kashmir*, vol. i. p. 333; Moorcroft's *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 250.

this tank, takes its course through Barah-Mulah, Pakali, and Damtaur, and then enters the Panjab. There are many rivulets and fountains in Kashmir, but Darahlar, which joins the Behat at the village of Shahabu-d dinpur, is the best of all the streams.

This village is one of the most famous places in Kashmir; and in it, in a piece of verdant land, there are nearly a hundred handsome plane trees, the branches of which interlace and afford a deep and extensive shade. The surface of the land is so covered with green that it requires no carpet to be spread on it. The village was founded by Sultan Zainu-l 'Abidin, who ruled firmly over Kashmir for fifty-two years. He is called there Baroshah, or the Great King. He is said to have performed many miracles. The remains of his many buildings are still to be seen there; and among these there is a building called Barin²⁹ Lanka, which he built with great difficulty in the middle of the lake called Ulur (Wulur), about three or four *kos* in circumference. This lake is exceedingly deep. To form the foundation of the building, boat-loads of stone were thrown into the lake; but as this proved of no use, some thousands of boats loaded with stones were sunk, and so with great labour a foundation of a hundred yards square was raised above the water, and smoothed. On one side of it were erected a palace and a place for the worship of God, than which no finer buildings can anywhere be found. Generally he used to come to this place in a boat, and devoted his time there to the worship of Almighty God. It is said that he passed many periods of forty days in this place.

One day one of his sons came into the sacred place, with a drawn sword in his hand, with the intention of killing him. But as soon as his eye fell upon him, the natural affection of the son and the royal dignity of the parent struck him with dismay, and diverted him from his

²⁹ *The Tabakat-i Akbari calls it Zain-lanka.*

purpose. After a short time the King came out, and having embarked in the same boat with his son, returned towards the city. Midway he told his son that he had left behind him his rosary, and asked him to return in a skiff and bring it to him. When the Prince went back to the building, he was amazed to find the King also there. He was exceedingly sorry for what he had done, and immediately fell at his feet, soliciting forgiveness for his conduct.

The King is said to have performed many such miracles, and that he could assume any form he liked. Reflecting on the habits and manners of his sons, and knowing that they were very impatient and anxious to ascend the throne, he told them that with him it was easy to resign the crown and to die, but that they could do nothing after him, for their government would not last long, and but few days would elapse before they would see the reward of their conduct. Having said this, he left off eating and drinking and passed forty days in the same manner. He did not even doze during this interval of time, but like a great saint he directed his whole attention to the worship of the Omnipotent God. On the fortieth day he delivered his soul to the angel of death, and met with the mercy of his Maker.

He left three sons, viz. Adam Khan, Haji Khan, and Bahram Khan. They quarrelled among themselves, and at last lost the dominions of their father. The sovereignty of Kashmir fell into the hands of a class called Chaks, who were formerly but common soldiers. Three rulers of this tribe constructed three buildings on the remaining three faces of the foundation which was laid by Zainu-l 'Abidin in the lake of Ulur, but none of them is so substantial as the first one built by that King.

Kashmir is a delightful country in the seasons of autumn and spring. I visited it in the former season, and found it even more charming than I had anticipated. I never was there in spring, but I hope some time or other to be there during that season.

³⁰On Saturday, the 1st of Muharram, I marched from the bank of the Behat to Rohtas, with one stage intervening. The fort of Rohtas is one of the buildings of Sher Khan Afghan, and is constructed amongst the ravines, where it was scarcely conceivable that so strong a position could have been obtained. As this tract is near the country of the Gakkhurs, a troublesome and turbulent race, it came into his head to build this fort for the purpose of over-awing and controlling them. Sher Khan died when only a portion of the work was done, but it was completed by his son Salim Khan. Over one of the doors the cost of the fort is engraven on a stone, which is set in the wall. The amount is 16,10,00,000 *dams* and something more, which is 34,25,000 rupees of Hindustan,³¹ 120,000 *tumans* of Iran, or 1,21,75,000 *khanis* of Turan.

On Tuesday, the 4th, I marched four *kos* and three-quarters to Tillah,³² which means "a hill" in the Gakkhur language.

From that place I marched to the village of Bhakra,³³ which in the language of the same people is the name of a shrub with white flowers without any odour. From Tillah to Bhakra I marched the whole way through the bed of a river,³⁴ in which water was then flowing, and the

³⁰ Sir H. M. Elliot's own translation.

³¹ It is worth bearing this comparatively moderate estimate in mind, for our modern travellers rarely place it under 100,00,000 and one has it as high as 500,00,000 rupees.

³² The original reads Bilah, but Tillah must be meant, which bears the meaning ascribed, and though the lofty Tillah cannot itself be meant, yet the halting ground is sufficiently close to admit of its deriving its name from that conspicuous hill.

³³ This is now called Bakrala, correctly Bekkrala. The local name for this flower is Phokra, elsewhere it is ordinarily called Haft-chingara. It is not more common at Bakrala than elsewhere in the neighbourhood, and I could get no one to acknowledge that this was, or could be, the origin of the name; so I suspect that the royal autobiographer has been deceived by his informants.

³⁴ This is the Kahan, a troublesome stream, full of quicksands.

oleander bushes were in full bloom, and of exquisite colour, like peach blossoms. In Hindustan this evergreen is always in flower. There were very many growing at the sides of this stream, and I ordered my personal attendants, both horse and foot, to bind bunches of the flowers in their turbans, and I directed that the turbans of those who would not decorate themselves in this fashion should be taken off their heads. I thus got up a beautiful garden.

On Thursday, the 6th, Hatya³⁵ was the encamping ground. On this march a great many Palas³⁶ shrubs were found in blossom. This shrub is also peculiar to the jungles of Hindustan. It has no fragrance in its flowers, which are of a fiery orange colour. The trunk is black. The flowers are the size of a red rose, or even bigger. It was such a sight that it was impossible to take one's eyes off it. As the air was very charming, and as, in consequence of a veil of clouds obscuring the light of the sun, there was a slight shower, I indulged myself in drinking wine. In short, I enjoyed myself amazingly on this march. This place is called Hatya because it was founded by a Gakkhur named Hati. The country from Margalla to Hatya is called Pothuwar.³⁷ Within this tract there are

³⁵ *This is a few miles beyond the usual encamping ground at present, which is Dhamak, a most impracticable name of which to obtain the true pronunciation. In the village and by the same men I have heard it variously given at Damak, Dhamak, Damihak, Tamak, Tamiak, Tamihak, the d and t being convertible in these parts, as "anta" for "anda" an egg. It was here that Shahabu-d din Ghori was assassinated, and in the lines which record the dates of his death, given in the Lubbu-t Tawarikh, the place is called Damyek. One of our road books (in the Bengal and Agra Guide) renders the confusion worse confounded, by attempting to be specific, and recording it as "Tamako, near Dhamack." Dhamak appears the most correct. The zamindars are of the Awan tribe.*

³⁶ *Generally called "Dhak," Butea frondosa.*

³⁷ *It is so called now, or rather Pathwar, but the pronunciation is not distinct. Various origins are ascribed to the name, none of*

but few crows to be found. Between Rohtas and Hatya is the country of the Buggyals,³⁸ who are of the same stock, and connected with the Gakkhurs.

On Friday I marched four *kos* and three-quarters to Pakka, so called because it has a *sarai* built of baked bricks; and Pakka in the Hindi language means "baked." There was nothing, but dust on the road; and in consequence of the annoyances I experienced, I found it a very troublesome march. In this place most of the sorrel brought from Kabul got injured.

On Saturday, the 8th, I marched four and a half *kos* to a place called Khar, which means "broken ground" in the Gakkhur language.³⁹ This country is very bare of trees.⁴⁰

them satisfactory. One is, that Phutwar is the proper name, on account of the mixed tribes which this table-land contains, in consequence of the frequent depopulation it has undergone. Another, that when it was under Kashmir, the collections used to be carried there in bags, called pithu. Another, because the land is patwar, or level between the hills which form its boundaries. There are tracts in India, as those under the Sindian and Sulaimani Hills, called Pat, for this reason; but the ground here can only be called level by comparison, for it is intersected by ravines in every direction, and this very fact is assigned as another origin of the name, the soil being phutwar, or broken. As this is conspicuously the case all the way from Dhamak to Margalla, I am disposed to look on this as the most probable origin, though the present pronunciation omits the aspirate with the p.

³⁸ This tract is now called Bugyal from the Gakkhur tribe of that name, descendants of Sultan Buga.

³⁹ Spelt "Kor" in the original, but Khor must be meant, as it bears the meaning ascribed to it in the text, though there is no village of that name. The present encamping ground is Manikyala, where is the celebrated Buddhist tope, of which it is surprising that Jahangir makes no mention.

⁴⁰ A later traveller, speaking of this country, says truly, "I never passed through a country so devoid of any pretension to beauty."—Baron Hugel's *Travels*, p. 238.

On Sunday I pitched my camp on the other side of Rawal Pindi, so called because it was founded by a Hindu named Rawal, and Pindi⁴¹ in that language means "a village." Near this place there is a stream of flowing water in a ravine, which empties itself into a tank. As the place was not destitute of charms, I remained there for a short time. I asked the Gakkhurs what the depth of the water was. They gave no specific answer, and added, "We have heard from our fathers that there are alligators in this water, which wound and kill every animal that goes into it, and on this account no one dares enter it." I ordered a sheep to be thrown into the water, which swam round the whole tank, and came out safe. After that I ordered a swimmer to go in, and he also emerged safe. It was therefore evident that there was no foundation for what the Gakkhurs asserted. The breadth of this water is about a bow-shot.

On Monday I encamped at Kharbuza. The Gakkhurs in former days erected a domed structure here, in which they used to collect tolls from travellers. As the dome is in shape like a melon, it was called Kharbuza.

On Tuesday, the 11th, the camp moved to Kalapani, which means in Hindi "black water." On this march there occurs a hill called Margalla.⁴² *Mar*, in Hindi, signifies "to rob on the highway," and *galla*, "a caravan"—that is, it is a place where caravans are plundered. Up to this extends the boundary of the country of the Gakkhurs. These fellows are strange animals, always squabbling and fighting with one another. I did all I could to effect a reconciliation, but without effect. "The life of fools is held very cheap in troublous times."

⁴¹ *It can scarcely be called Hindi. It prevails throughout the Panjab, but is unknown to the east of the Jumna.*

⁴² *The road has been improved since this Emperor's time. There is a substantial stone pavement through the pass, which from a Persian inscription on a rock appears to have been erected in A.H. 1084, by "the strong-handed Khan Mahabat Shikoh."*

On Wednesday, our encamping ground was Baba Hasan Abdal. About a *kos* to the east of this place there is a cascade, over which the water flows with great rapidity. On the whole road to Kabul there is no stream like this, but on the road to Kashmir thence are two or three of the same kind. Raja Man Singh raised a small edifice in the middle of the basin whence the water flows. There are several fish in it, of half or a quarter of a yard long. I stayed three days at this charming spot, and drank wine with my intimate companions. I also had some sport in the way of fishing. I had never, up to this time, thrown the *Safra* net, which in Hindi they call "*Bhanwar Jal*," and is one of the commonest kind. To throw this net is a matter of some difficulty but I tried it with my own hand, and succeeded in getting twelve fish. I strung pearls in their noses, and let them go again in the water. I asked the inhabitants and people acquainted with history who Baba Hasan Abdal was, but no one could give me any specific information. The most noted spot there is where a spring issues from the foot of the hill. It is exceedingly pure and clear, and the following verse of Mir Khusrû may well be applied to it. "The water is so transparent, that a blind man in the depth of night could see the small particles of sand at the bottom." Khwaja Shamsu-d din Khwafi, who was for a long time the minister of my respected father, erected a small summer-house there,⁴³ and excavated a cistern into which the water of the spring flows, supplying the fields and gardens with the means of irrigation. Close to it he built a domed tomb for himself,

⁴³ *It is probable that this is the place now occupied by Sikh Granthis, who have set up there the panja, or hand, of Baba Nanak, and have established the cistern as a sacred spot where they feed fat fish. Considering at what a late period this place came under the dominion of the Sikhs, it is curious that popular feeling should concur in the new belief that Baba Nanak visited the spot and performed the miracle ascribed to him, which is recorded by our modern travellers who have visited the spot.*

but it was not his fate to be buried there. Hakim Abu-l Fath Gilani and his brother Hakim Human, who were the most intimate friends of my father, and to whom he entrusted all his secrets, were buried there by his orders.⁴⁴

On the 15th I encamped at Amardi, a most extraordinary green plain, in which you cannot see a mound or hillock of any kind. At this place and in the neighbourhood there are seven or eight thousand houses of Khatur and Dilazaks, who practise every kind of turbulence, oppression, and highway robbery. I gave orders that the *sarkar* of Attak, as well as this tract of country, should be made over to Zafar Khan, the son of Zain Khan Koka, and I gave him directions, that before the return of the royal camp from Kabul, he should march off the whole of the Dilazaks towards Lahore, and should seize the chiefs of the Khatur, and keep them in prison and fetters.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ *There is an old tomb in this situation, now domeless, which is no doubt the place indicated. The inhabitants say some prince is buried there, some say Nur Jahan Begam, but she is buried not far from Jahangir, at Shahderah, in an elegant structure like a baradari (summer-house), now falling rapidly to ruin.*

⁴⁵ *His orders appear to have been faithfully executed, for there are now no Dilazaks here. There are some in Hazara, who call themselves Turks. Of the Khatur there are still several villages, such as Wake, Kate, etc., and the fertile plain of Khatur is still called after their name. They called themselves Mughals, and also say they were converted Rajputs, whose original seat was Dehli. Others say their name is owing to their being converted Khattris, others because they practise agriculture (kheti). The little information which the people of this neighbourhood can give about themselves is as remarkable now as in Jahangir's time. Of the Dilazaks Elphinstone says: "All the lower valley of the Caubul, all the plain of Peshawar, with part of Bajour, Chush Huzaurah, and the countries east of them, as far as the Hydaspes, belonged to the Afghan tribe of Dilazauk, which is now almost extirpated. The country between the Dilazauks and the range of Hindoo Coosh on both sides of the Indus, formed the kingdom of Swaut, which was inhabited by a distinct nation, and ruled by Sultan*

On Monday, the 17th, I encamped near the fort of Attak,⁴⁶ on the banks of the river Nilab, after making one march intermediately. At this place I promoted Mahabat Khan to the rank of 2500. This fort, which is very strong, was constructed under the direction and superintendence of Khwaja Shamsu-d din Khwfi by order of my father. In these days the Nilab was very full, insomuch that the bridge consisted of eighteen boats, over which people passed with great ease and security. The Amiru-l Umara was so weak and sick, that I left him at Attack, and as the country around Kabul was not able to subsist so large a camp as accompanied me, I ordered the *bakhshis* to allow no one to cross the river except my own friends and household; the main camp being ordered to wait at Attack till my return.

On Wednesday, the 19th, I embarked with the Prince and a few attendants on a raft, and passing over the Nilab⁴⁷ in safety, landed on the bank of the Kama,⁴⁸ the

Oneiss, whose ancestors had long reigned over that country. The Ghorees descended to Peshwar in the reign of Cawmraun, the son of Baubar, and with the assistance of that prince drove the Dilazauks across the Indus; of that numerous and powerful tribe, there are now only two or three villages to the west of the Indus. There are, however, some thousand Dilazauks on the Indian side of the river.—*Kingdom of Caubul*, vol. ii. pp. 12, 56.

⁴⁶ At that period the place was called Attak Banaras, as it is now in the vicinity of the place itself. Banaras is a small ruinous town, about a mile to the east of the fort, where the tomb and garden of Bairam Beg, the guardian of Akbar, are still conspicuous.

⁴⁷ The river is not now known by this name, since the town of Nilab has declined, and Attak has risen. From the north-east downwards it is called Abbasin, and from Attack to Kalabagh, the Attals. By the Hindus of that neighbourhood it is frequently called the Sind, under which name they read of it in their Sastras.

⁴⁸ This name is derived from a fort nearly opposite Jalalabad, at the junction of the Kuner with the river which Englishmen call the Kabul river. The Kuner is also called the Kama; but the lower part of the Kabul river, which Jahangir calls the Kama, is

river which flows under Jalalabad. These rafts are composed of bamboos and grass, and placed on inflated skins. Here they call them *Jal*,⁴⁹ and in rivers where there are many stones, they are safer than boats.⁵⁰ I gave 12,000 rupees to Mir Sharif Amali and the officers who were left on duty at Lahore, to be distributed to the poor; and orders were given to 'Abdu-r Razak M'amuri and Bihari Das, paymaster of the Ahadis, to make arrangements for supplying with every necessary the party who had been left behind with Zafar Khan.

From that ground we moved, one march intervening, to my camp near Sarai Bara. On the opposite side of the river Kama there is a fort,⁵¹ built by Zain Khan Koka, when he was appointed to exterminate the Yusufzai Afghans. It is called Naushahra, and nearly 50,000 rupees were expended in its construction. They report that His Majesty Humayun hunted wolves in these parts, and I have heard my father say, that he had himself attended his father two or three times on these excursions.

On Tuesday, the 25th, I moved to Sarai Daulatabad. Ahmad Beg Kabuli, the *jagirdar* of Peshwar, brought the Yusufzai and Ghorya-khail chiefs with him to pay their respects. As I was not pleased with his services, I removed him from the government of that country, and bestowed it upon Sher Khan Afghan.

now generally known as the Lundye, or Landa. The Lundye proper rises in the Panjkora country, and flows nearly due south into the Kabul river, opposite Peshawar. Lieut. Macartney says that the stream is called the Kama from Jalalabad as far as Peshawar. Elphinstone's "Kingdom of Caubul," vol. ii. p. 473.

⁴⁹ *Jala is now the term.*

⁵⁰ *Any one who has tried these convenient floats can testify to this. In the upper rivers of the Panjab an inverted bed is usually placed on two skins, and the float is then called Kha-nao, "a bed-boat."*

⁵¹ *There is now a Naushahra on either side of the river. Near the town of the Yusufzai bank the Kalapani enters the Lundye.*

On Wednesday, the 26th, I arrived at the garden of Sardar Khan, near Peshawar. Ghorkhatri, a famous place of worship amongst the Jogis, is in this neighbourhood, and I went to see it in the possible chance of seeing some *fakir*, from whose society I might derive advantage; but such a man is as rare as the Philosopher's Stone or the 'Anka; and all that I saw was a small fraternity without any knowledge of God, the sight of whom filled my heart with nothing but regret.

On Thursday Jamrud was our encamping ground.

On Friday, we went through the Khaibar Pass, and encamped at 'Ali Masjid.⁵².....

A HINDU MURDERER

On the same day (3rd Safar) Kaliyan, son of Raja Bikramajit, arrived from Gujarat. Many heinous deeds of villainy were reported of this mean and vicious character. One among his other atrocities is that he kept a common woman of the Muhammadan persuasion in his house, and for fear of being discovered, he killed her father and mother, and buried them in his house. I ordered him to be imprisoned until the facts were ascertained. After conviction I ordered that his tongue should be cut out,⁵³ that he should be kept in prison for life, and that he should be fed at the same mess as the dog-keepers and sweepers...

BABAR'S MEMOIRS

With the object of acquiring information about the history of Kabul, I used to read the *Waki'at-i Babari*, which, all except four parts (*juzw*), was written with his (Babar's) own hand. To complete the work I copied these parts (*ajza*) myself, and at the end I added some paragraphs in

⁵² *End of Sir H. M. Elliot's translation. A note states that he deemed it unnecessary to carry the translation of this itinerary further.*

⁵³ *This excision of the tongue is not mentioned in some MSS.*

the Turkish language, to show that they were written by me. Although I was brought up in Hindustan, yet I am not deficient in reading and writing Turki.

PRINCE KHUSRU

On the 12th I summoned Khusru to my presence, and ordered the chains to be put off from his legs, and that he should be allowed to walk in the garden of Shahr-ara, for my paternal affection had not so far departed as to induce me to deprive him of this indulgence..... Although Khusru had been repeatedly guilty of improper actions, and was deserving of a thousand punishments, yet paternal affection did not allow me to take his life. To bear with such wicked proceedings was incompatible with the rules of government and policy; yet I overlooked his offences, and he was kept in great comfort and ease. It was discovered that he had sent people to several vile and wicked characters, and by promises had instigated them to raise disturbances, and to attempt my life. Some of these wretched, shortsighted people conspired together and formed design of destroying me while engaged in hunting at Kabul and its vicinity; but as the favour of Providence is the protector and preserver of kings, they found no opportunity to commit that crime. The day on which I halted at Surkhab, one of the conspirators hastily came to Khwaja Kuraishi, the *diwan* of Prince Khurram, and said that about 500 insurgents, with Fathu-lla, son of Hakim Abu-l Fath, Nuru-d din, son of Ghiyasu-d din Ali, Asaf Khan, and Sharif, son of I'timadu-d daula, were, at the instigation of Khusru, on the watch for a suitable opportunity of making an attack upon me. The Khwaja immediately reported the matter to Khurram, who in great perturbation instantly came and informed me. I blessed the Prince, and resolved to take measures for the apprehension of all those imprudent persons, and for treating them with every kind of severe punishment. But again I thought that as I was now on a journey, their pursuit

would cause the disturbance and dispersion of my camp, and accordingly only the chief insurgents were captured. Fathu-lla Khan was placed in prison, in charge of some trustworthy persons, while the two other wretches, with three or four more ring-leaders of those cursed revolters, were killed.

THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN

The third Nauroz after my happy accession to the throne occurred on Thursday, the 2nd of Zi-l nijja, corresponding with the 1st of Farwardin, and the world-enlightening Sun, after leaving the sign of Pisces, entered that of Aries. The festival of *Nauroz* was celebrated in the village of Rankata, which is at the distance of five *kos* from the city of Agra.....

As the magnificent sepulchre of my father was on the road, I thought that if I now went to see it, ignorant people would consider that I went to visit it only because it was on my road. I therefore determined that I would proceed direct to the city, and then, as my father, in accordance with his vow respecting my birth, had gone on foot from Agra to Ajmir, in the same manner I would also walk from the city to his splendid sepulchre, a distance of two and a half *kos*. Would that I could have gone this distance upon my head !

On Saturday, the 5th of the month, at noon, in an auspicious tour, I set out towards the city. As I went, I distributed about 5,000 rupees to the beggars, who lined both sides of the road along the whole way, till I entered my palace within the fort. On the same day, Raja Nar Singh Deo brought to me a white leopard. Though among animals of other species, both quadrupeds and birds, there may be some of white colour, distinguished by the name of *towighun*,⁵⁴ yet a white leopard I had never seen up to this time.

⁵⁴ *Tu'ighan* is said in the *Turki Dictionary* to mean exclusively a white hawk. It is not found in *Richardson's Dictionary*:

On Thursday, the 8th of Muharram, A.H. 1016, Jalalu-d din Mas'ud, who held the rank of 400, and was not destitute of courage, and in several actions had shown valour which was more nearly allied to rashness, expired of dysentery at the age of between fifty and sixty years. He was much addicted to opium, and took it after breaking it into small pieces like cheese. He often received it from the hands of his mother. When his illness grew worse, and symptoms of death were visible, she took a large quantity of the same opium which she used to give him, and died a few minutes after he departed this world. To this time such maternal love for a son has never been heard of. It is a custom among the Hindus that women burn themselves alive after the death of their husbands, either through affection, or for the sake of the honour and reputation of their fathers and relations; but a thing like this was never known to be done by any mother, whether among the Muhammadans or Hindus.

On the 15th of the same month I bestowed the finest of my horses on Raja Man Singh in consequence of the affection which I entertained for him. As I had asked Jagat Singh, the eldest son of Raja Man Singh, for the hand of his daughter, I sent to the Raja, on the 16th, a sum of 80,000 rupees on account of one of the nuptial ceremonies, called *sachak*.⁵⁵ Mukarrab Khan sent me from the Port of Kambhait (Kambay) a piece of European tapestry, which was so beautifully made that I had never seen any work of the Faringis equal to it before.

On the 4th of Rabi'u-l awwal, the daughter of Jagat Singh entered my Seraglio, and the nuptial ceremonies were performed in the residence of Mariam-i Zaman. Among other valuables which Raja Man Singh sent with her were sixty elephants.

As I was very anxious to extirpate the Rana, I determined to send Mahabat Khan against him, and placed

⁵⁵ *Presentation of Hinna to the bride.*

12,000 horse, perfectly equipped, with some experienced officers, under his command, besides 500 Ahadis, 2,000 musketeers, artillery to the number of seventy or eighty guns, and elephant and camel-swivels, and sixty elephants. I also ordered a treasure of twenty *lacs* of rupees to be sent with this army.

Khan-khanan, who was my preceptor, came from Burhanpur, and paid me a visit. He was so anxious to see me, that he did not know whether he came on foot or head. He threw himself in great agitation at my feet. With great kindness and favour I raised up his head with my hands, and with much affection took him in my arms and kissed his face. He presented me with two rosaries of rubies and pearls, and several rubies and emeralds, to the value of three lacs of rupees, besides many other articles of all sorts.....

On the 22nd Asaf Khan presented me with a ruby seven *tanks* in weight, which was purchased by his brother Abu-l Kasim in the port of Kambhait for 75,000 rupees. Its colour and form were exceedingly good, but in my opinion it was not worth more than 60,000 rupees.

On the 24th the sons of Khan-khanan, who were coming after him, also arrived and paid their respects. They presented me with 25,000 rupees. On the same day the Khan also presented me with ninety elephants. This day a doe was brought, which freely allowed itself to be milked, and produced four *sers* of milk every day. Such a doe I had never seen or heard of. There is no difference of taste between the milk of a doe and that of a cow or a female buffalo. It is said to be a remedy for asthma.

On the 11th Raja Man Singh, in order to make his preparations for the equipment of the army of the Dakhin, whither he was ordered to proceed, asked for leave to go to Amber, his native country. I granted his request, and gave him an elephant which was called Hushiya Mast.

On the 21st Khan-khanan, having undertaken to suppress all the disturbances which had arisen in the territory of Nizamu-l Mulk at the death of the late Emperor, wrote a document, in which he engaged that if he did not successfully perform this service within two years, he would confess himself liable to punishment, provided only that, besides the army which was already in the province, a force of 12,000 horse and a treasure of ten *lacs* of rupees be placed at his disposal. I ordered that he should immediately be provided with every equipment for the army, and gave him leave to proceed to his duty.

As Kishen Singh, the youngest maternal uncle of Khurram, had rendered many valuable services while with Mahabat Khan, and in the engagement with the army of the Rana had received a spear-wound in his foot, had killed twenty of the Rana's distinguished officers, and captured about 3,000 men, he was now raised to the rank of 2,000 personal salary, and the command of 1,000 horse.....

On Tuesday the 17th, I went on foot to see the resplendent sepulchre of my father. If I could, I would travel this distance upon my eye-lashes or my head. My father, when he made a vow respecting my birth, had gone on foot from Fathpur to Ajmir on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the great Khwaja Mu'inu-d din Chisti, a space of 120 *kos*, and it would therefore be nothing very great if I were to go this short distance upon my head or eyes. When I had obtained the good fortune of visiting the tomb, and had examined the building which was erected over it, I did not find it to my liking. My intention was, that it should be so exquisite that the travellers of the world could not say they had seen one like it in any part of the inhabited earth. While the work was in progress, in consequence of the rebellious conduct of the unfortunate Khusru, I was obliged to march towards Lahore. The builders had built it according to their own taste, and had

altered the original design at their discretion. The whole money had been thus expended, and the work had occupied three or four years. I ordered that clever architects, acting in concert with some intelligent persons, should pull down the objectionable parts which I pointed out. By degrees a very large and magnificent building was raised, with a nice garden round it, entered by a lofty gate, consisting of minarets made of white stone. The total expense of this large building was reported to me to amount to 50,000 *tumans* of 'Irak, and forty-five *lacs* of *khanis* of Turan.

On Sunday, the 23rd, I went to the house of Hakim Ali, to see the reservoir, like one which was made in the time of my father in Lahore. I was accompanied by a body of attendants who had not seen it. The size of the reservoir was six yards each way, and by its side was made a chamber, which was exceedingly well lighted, and which had a passage to it through the water, but not a drop could penetrate the chamber. It was so large that ten or twelve persons could sit in it. The Hakim presented me there with what money and articles he could produce at the time. After seeing the chamber, and allowing all my attendants to examine it, I returned to my palace, having honoured the Hakim with the rank of 2,000.....

On the 6th of Zi-l hijja, Mukarrib Khan sent me a picture, stating that the Portuguese believed it to be the portrait of Timur. It was represented that, at the time when Ilderim Bayazid was taken prisoner by the victorious army of that Emperor, a Christian, who was then the governor of Istambol, sent an ambassador with presents to offer terms of submission. He was accompanied by a painter, who drew a portrait of the Emperor, and on his return carried it away with him. If this had been true, in my opinion there could not have been a more valuable curiosity in my possession; but as it bore no resemblance to his royal descendants, I was not at all satisfied with the truth of the statement.

FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The Nauroz of the Fourth Year fell on the 14th Zi-l hijja, 1017, 11th March, 1609.

It had now become manifest that, to secure the settlement of the Dakhin, one of the Princes must be sent thither, and I accordingly resolved upon sending Parwez.⁵⁶

FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The Nau-roz of the Fifth Year fell on the 24th Zi-l hijja, 1018, 10th March, 1610.

OUTBREAK AT PATNA

On the 19th of Urdibihist, in the fifth year of my reign, a wonderful event took place in Patna, which is the chief residence of the governor of the province of Bihar. When Afzal Khan, the governor of the province, was about to march to Gorakhpur, which had been recently conferred on him in *jagir*, and which lies at about sixty *kos* distance from Patna, he placed the fort and the city in charge of Shaikh Banarasi and Ghiyas Zain Khani the *diwan*, and other *mansabdars*; but thinking that there was no enemy in the country, he never thought of making provision for the security of the fort and city.

It happened that in his absence a turbulent and seditious person of Uch, by name Kutb, came in the habit of a *fakir*, into the territory of Ujjainiya, which lies near Patna, and having made friends with some people of notorious character, declared himself to be Khusru, and said that, having escaped from prison, he had come there; and that those who joined and helped him should share in his success. With such false words, he assured those foolish people of the truth of his pretensions. As his eyes had been branded in days gone by, he told those people

⁵⁶ Asaf Khan was sent with him as his *atalik* or tutor.—*Ikbāl-nama*, *Ma-avir-i Jahangiri*.

that while he was in prison hot cups had been tied over his eyes, which had left that mark.⁵⁷ By these means he succeeded in collecting a number of horse and foot. As these insurgents had received intelligence of Afzal Khan's absence from Patna, they took advantage of the opportunity, and having entered the city, made an attack upon the fort. On one occasion Shaikh Banarasi, who was in the fort being confounded, came down to the gate; but the enemy pushed in, and would not let him close it. Then he went with Ghiyas, and getting out of a window on the river-side, they procured a boat, and endeavoured to make their way to Afzal Khan.

The rebels, flushed with success, entered the fort, took possession of all the property of Afzal Khan, and all the royal treasure. A number of the vagabonds and adventurers of the city and suburbs also joined with them. The intelligence of this outrage reached Afzal Khan in Gorakpur, and Shaikh Banarasi and Ghiyas also arrived by water. Several letters from the city stated that the pretender was only an impostor, and had falsely assumed the name of Khusru. Afzal Khan, depending upon the favour of God and the aid of my fortunate star, immediately marched against the insurgents. In five days he arrived at Patna. The enemy having left one of their leaders in the fort, marched out both horse and foot to oppose him, and took post at four *kos* from the city, on the river Punpun, in array of battle. The engagement began, and the insurgents, after a slight resistance, took to flight in consternation. A number of them fled back into the fort, but Afzal Khan pursued them so closely, that he prevented them from shutting the gate. In panic they rushed into the house of Afzal Khan, and there held out till the evening. They shot about thirty men with their arrows. The impostor at last, when his companions were going to hell, and he had be-

⁵⁷ *An attempt had been made to blind Khusru. See infra. Extract from Intikhab-i Jahangir-Shahi.*

come helpless, came out to the presence of Afzal Khan. The Khan, to quash the rebellion, put him to death on the same day, and sent several of his followers who had been captured into confinement. When I was informed of this outbreak, I had Shaikh Banarasi, Ghiyas Rihani, and the other officers brought to Agra. I then ordered that their heads and beards should be shaved, and that they should be dressed in sordid garments, and be paraded round the city on backs of asses, as a punishment to them and as a warning to others.

AFFAIRS OF THE DAKHIN

On the 2nd Aban, Khan-khanan came to present himself before me. I had received many complaints, true or untrue, about him, so I was estranged from him, and did not treat him with that kindness and attention which I had ever shown him, and which I had seen my venerable father show him. He had been sent on service to the Dakhin for a certain time, in attendance upon Prince Parwez. He and other *amirs* had started on this important duty; but when he arrived at Burhanpur, regardless of the time being unfavourable for operations, and the want of supplies and necessities, he led Sultan Parwez and the army to the Balaghat. Ill-feeling and discord prevailed among the *amirs*, and at length the grain was exhausted, and none was to be obtained for money. The men were reduced to distress, and there was no means of carrying the matter further. Horses, camels, and other quadrupeds sank exhausted. So he patched up a sort of peace with the enemy, and conducted Sultan Parwez and the army back to Burhanpur. This reverse and distress brought me many letters of complaint against Khan-khanan, but I did not believe all that was stated. A letter also came from Khan-Jahan, in which he said, "All the disasters have happened through the bad management of the Khan-khanan. Either confirm him in his command, or recall him to Court and appoint me to perform the service. If 30,000 horse are

sent as a reinforcement, I will undertake in the course of two years to recover all the Imperial territory from the enemy, to take Kandahar and other fortresses on the frontier, and to make Bijapur a part of the Imperial dominions. If I do not accomplish this in the period, I will never show my face at Court again." As the relations between Khan-khanan and the other *sardars* were unsatisfactory, I did not think it right to uphold him, so I removed him, and appointed Khan Jahan to the command.....

From the time of the conquest of Ahmadnagar by my late brother Daniyal to the present, the place had been under the command of Khwaja Beg Mirza Safawi, a relation of Shah Tahmasp of Persia; but since their late successes, the Dakhinis had invested the town. Every effort was made to defend the place, and Khan-khanan, and the other *amirs* who were with Prince Parwez at Burhanpur, marched forth to relieve it. Through the jealousies and dissensions of the leaders, and from want of supplies, the army was conducted by improper roads through mountains and difficult passes, and in a short time it was disorganized, and so much in want of food, that it was compelled to retreat. The hopes of the garrison were fixed on this force, and its retreat filled them with despair. They desired to evacuate the place. Khwaja Beg Mirza did his best to console and encourage them; but in vain, so he capitulated on terms, and retired with his men to Burhanpur. When the despatches arrived, and I found that the Khwaja had fought bravely and done his best, I promoted him to a *mansab* of 5,000, and gave him a suitable *jagir*.

SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

New Year's Day of the sixth year fell on the 6th Muharram, 1020 (12th March, 1611).....

One of the royal slaves, who was employed as an ornamental carver, presented me with a most extra-

ordinary instance of his ingenuity. It was such a marvel as I had neither seen nor heard of before, and therefore a brief description of it will be interesting. He had fixed within the shell of a filbert a piece of painted ivory, which he had divided into four compartments. The first contains five individuals. Two are wrestling with each other, the third stands with a spear, the fourth bears a heavy stone, and the fifth is sitting with his hands on the ground, with a staff, a bow, and a cup before him. The second part represents a throne, on which a king sits under a magnificent canopy. One leg is crossed over the other, and he has a cushion behind his back. Five servants are in attendance round about him, and the shade of a tree spreads over the whole. The third part exhibits a party of rope-dancers. There is a long bamboo supported by three ropes. One man dances upon the rope in an extraordinary attitude. He holds his right leg at the back of his head by his left hand. There is a goat also standing on the top of a stick. The second man beats a drum which hangs round his neck, while the third person stands holding up his hands and looking at the rope. Five individuals are also standing by him, one bearing a stick in his hand. The fourth part represents a large tree, under which Jesus Christ is sitting. One man is bowing his head at the feet of Jesus, while an old man is talking with him. Four other men are standing by his side. In acknowledgment of this wonderful piece of workmanship, I rewarded the artist with a handsome present and an increase of his allowance.....

REGULATIONS

It had repeatedly come to my hearing, that the *amirs* at the frontier posts were in the habit of requiring certain observances to which they had no right, paying no regard to the established rules and ordinances. Accordingly, the *bakhshis* were ordered to issue *farmans* prohibiting them from observing in future those practices which are peculiar

to emperors. 1. Not to sit at the *jharoka* or window.⁵⁸ 2. Not to give the *amirs* and *sardars* serving under them the annoyance of their own chair or of requiring obeisance to the chair,⁵⁹ 3. Not to have elephant fights. 4. Not to punish any person by ordering him to be blinded, or to have his nose or ears cut off. 5. Not to forcibly impose Musulman burdens (*taklif-i Musulmani*) on any one.⁶⁰ 6. Not to grant titles to their servants. 7. Not to require the servants of the State to bow their bodies or to touch the ground before them.⁶¹ 8. Not to trouble the singers and musicians to give chairs after the manner of a *darbar*.⁶² 9. Not to have the drums beaten at the time of their going out. 10. When they presented a horse or elephant to any man, whether a public or private servant, they were not to require obeisance from him with a horse's bridle or an elephant's goad placed upon his back. 11. Not to make the royal servants to walk on foot in their retinue. 12. Not to place their seals upon letters addressed to royal servants. These rules, which were promulgated under the title of *A'in-i Jahangiri*, are now in force.

⁵⁸ *Not to show themselves at the window to the people as was the practice of emperors.*

⁵⁹ *The words are ba mara wa sardaran kumaki taklif chauki khwud wa tascim. Chauki nakunand. The Ma-asir repeats the exact words. The Ikbal-nama substitutes bandahayi padshahi (servants of the state) for the first part of the sentence, and leaves out the second chauki (chair). The meaning is perhaps this. "They were not to sit in state themselves nor to require obeisance to an empty chair placed for the Emperor."*

⁶⁰ *This prohibition is not repeated either in the Ikbal-nama or Ma-asir-i Jahangiri.*

⁶¹ *To make kornish or taslim.*

⁶² *Taklif chauki dadan nokunand. The Ikbal-nama omits this interdict. The Ma-asir transposes the words "Chauki dadan" and reads "dadani chauki." There would seem to be some conventional meaning of the words "taklif chauki" which was not generally understood even when these works were written.*

SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

New year's Day of the seventh year fell on the 17th Muharram. 1021 (12th March, 1612).

WAR IN BENGAL

Just at this time, a despatch arrived from Islam Khan, with intelligence of the defeat of the enemy, and the deliverance of the country of Bengal from the sway of 'Usman the Afghan. Before entering upon this subject, a few particulars respecting Bengal may be recorded. It is an extensive country, situated in the second clime. Its length is 450 *kos*, extending from Bandar Chatgam (the port of Chittagong) to Garhi, and its breadth, from the northern mountains to the province of Madaran (Midnapur), is 220 *kos*. Its revenue amounted to sixty *krors* of *dams*.⁶³ In former times, its governors always maintained 8,000 horse, one *lac* of foot soldiers, 1,000 elephants, and 400 or 500 war boats. From the time of Sher Khan Afghan and his son Salim Khan, this country had remained in the possession of the Afghans.⁶⁴ When my revered father mounted and adorned the throne of Hindustan, he appointed an army to subdue it. Strenuous efforts to effect its conquest were for a long time maintained, and at length it was wrested from the hands of Daud Kirani, the last ruler of the country, who was killed, and his forces defeated and scattered by Khan Jahan.

From that time to the present the country has been governed by servants of the Empire, excepting only a remnant of Afghans who remained in the recesses and on the borders of the country. By degrees these fell into trouble and distress, and the whole country was annexed to the Imperial dominions. When I ascended the throne,

⁶³ One *kror* and fifty *lacs* of *rupees*.—*Ikbāl-nama*.

⁶⁴ "After the death of Salim Khan, Sulaiman Kirani ruled over it."—*Ikbāl-nama*.

in the first year of my reign, I recalled Man Singh, who had long been governor of the country, and appointed my *kokaltash* Kutbu-d din to succeed him. Soon after his arrival, he was assassinated by one of the turbulent characters of the country, who met with his reward and was killed.⁶⁵ Jahangir Kuli Khan, whom I had made a commander of 5,000, was governor of the province of Bihar, and was near to Bengal, so I ordered him to proceed thither and take possession of the country. Islam Khan was then at Agra, and I sent a *farman* to him, granting him the province of Bihar in *jagir*, and directing him to proceed there. Jahangir Kuli Khan had not been long there when he fell ill, and died from the effects of the climate. On receiving intelligence of his death, I appointed Islam Khan to succeed him, and sent directions for him to proceed thither with all speed, leaving Bihar in charge of Afzal Khan.

On my appointing him to this great service, some of my servants made remarks upon his youth and want of experience, but I perceived that he had nobility of character and talents, so I selected him. The result has been, that he has brought the country into a state of order, such as no one of his predecessors in the office had ever been able to accomplish. One of his most signal services has been the suppression of 'Usman the Afghan. During the reign of my father, the royal forces had continual encounters with this man, but were unable to subdue him.

Islam Khan took up his quarters at Dacca, to bring the *zamindars* of that vicinity to submission, and he formed the design of sending an army against 'Usman and his country, to induce him to make profession of allegiance, or else to exterminate him and his turbulent followers. Shuja'at Khan was at this time with Islam Khan, and he was appointed to command the force engaged for this

: ⁶⁵ *Sher-Afgan, first husband of Nur Jahan.—See post, Extracts from the Ikbāl-nama.*

service. Several other of the servants of the State, such as....., were sent with him..... When they arrived near 'Usman's fortress and country, some able speakers were sent to advise him to renounce his rebellious habits, and to become a good subject; but he was too proud and ambitious. He cherished the design of subduing this country, and had other projects in his head. He would not listen to a word, but got ready for battle. He took a position in a village on the bank of a *nala*, surrounded by water and marsh. Shuja't Khan determined to attack, and arranged his forces in their respective places. 'Usman had not intended to fight that day; but when he heard that the Imperial forces were in motion, he mounted and rode to the bank of the *nala* to arrange his men.

The battle began and the fight waxed warm. At the very first the bold rebel, mounted on a fierce elephant, pushed forward and encountered the advance force. After a sharp struggle, the commanders of the attacking force were killed. Iftikhar Khan, the commander of the right wing, showed no want of gallantry, and was killed fighting, while his men fought desperately till they were cut to pieces. In the left wing also Kishwar Khan fell, after performing great deeds of valour.

Although the enemy had lost many men, their intrepid leader conceived a well-devised and skillful movement.⁶⁶ He knew that the commanders of the advance and of the right and left wings had fallen, but that the centre remained. So, heedless of his dead and wounded, he made a fierce assault upon the centre. The sons and brothers and relatives of Shuja't Khan, with some others, cast themselves in his way like lions and panthers, and fought desperately tooth and nail, till many of them were slain, and such as survived were severely wounded.

The leading elephant, a very fierce one, attacked

⁶⁶ *He was very fat and heavy, and rode on an elephant in a howda.—Ikbal-nama.*

Shuja'at Khan, and he wounded it with his spear, but what does such an animal care for a spear? Shuja'at drew his sword and gave it two cuts, but what did it care for that? He then wounded it twice with his dagger, but even then it did not turn, but sought to bear down both the Khan and his horse. As he was thrown from his horse, he shouted "Jahangir Shah!" and then sprung to his feet. One of his attendants struck the elephant on his fore-legs with a two-handed sword, and brought him to his knees. Shuja'at and his attendant then threw his driver to the ground, and with the same dagger he wounded the elephant in the trunk and forehead so that he shrieked with pain and turned back. The animal had received so many wounds, that he fell on reaching the enemy's ranks.

Shuja'at Khan's horse got up unhurt; but while he was mounting, the baffled foe drove another elephant against the standard-bearer of the Shuja'at Khan, to overthrow both horse and standard. Shuja'at raised a shout of warning to the standard-bearer, and cried, "Act like a man, I am yet alive." Every man near the standard directed his arrow, his dagger, or his sword against the elephant. Shuja'at Khan bade the standard-bearer arise, and calling for another horse, made him remount and again raise the standard.

During this struggle, musket-ball struck the forehead of the rebel commander, but the hand which fired it was never known, though inquiry was made. As soon as he received the wound, 'Usman fell back, for he knew that it was mortal. Still for two watches and a half, in spite of his wound, he kept urging his men on and the fight and slaughter was continued. At length the foe gave way, and the troops pursued them to the position they had fortified. Still they kept up a discharge of arrows and muskets, and prevented the royal forces from obtaining an entrance.

When Wali the brother, and Mamrez the son, of 'Usman, and other of his friends, were informed of the

severe wound he had received, they knew that he could not survive; they also reflected that if after such a defeat they broke and made for their fastnesses, not one of them would escape; so they resolved to remain in their position for the night, and to escape just before break of day to their fortresses. At midnight 'Usman departed to hell, and in the following watch the enemy, carrying off his body, and leaving all their equipage standing, made off to their strongholds. Upon hearing of their flight, Shuja'at Khan proposed to pursue them, and not give them time to draw breath; but the exhaustion of the troops, the burying of the dead, and the tending of the wounded, prevented him, to his great chagrin. 'Abdu-l Islam, son of Mu'azzam Khan, now arrived with several officers, 600 horse, and 400 gunners. With these fresh troops he started in pursuit. Wali, who was now the leader of the rebels, on being informed of this, (*resolved to ask for peace*). Shuja'at Khan and the other officers accepted the proposition, and granted terms. Next day Wali, and the sons and relations of 'Usman, came into the Imperial camp, and presented forty-nine elephants, with other tribute. Shuja'at Khan then left some forces to watch the country held by the enemy, while he carried Wali and his Afghan prisoners to Jahangirnagar (Dacca), which he entered on the 6th Safar, and waited on Islam Khan.... In reward of this service, I raised Islam Khan to the dignity of 6,000, and I gave Shuja'at Khan the title of "Rustam of the age," with a *mansab* of 1,000.....

On the 16th of the month of Farwardin, Mukarrab Khan, one of my chiefs, confidential and oldest nobles, having received the dignity of 3,000, and the command of 2,000 horse, gained the honour of being presented to me on his arrival from Kambay. Certain political considerations induced me to depute him to the seaport town of Goa,⁶⁷ to visit the *Wazir* or ruler of that place. I further

⁶⁷ Though this is spelt Goa, or rather Goh, in the original, it is most probable that Goga is meant; and indeed in one copy it is

asked him to purchase certain articles procurable there, which might suit my taste. In obedience to orders, he set out directly for that harbour, and resided there for a long time. He did not regard the expense, but purchased several articles from the Feringis, at any price they asked. On his return, he presented the precious things he had bought in Goa. Amongst these were a few animals which excited my curiosity, and which I had never seen before. No one even knew their names.

The Emperor Babar has in his Memoirs given an able description and pictured representation of several animals; but it is most probable he never ordered the painters to draw them from the life. But as the animals now before me were of such exquisite rarity, I wrote a description of them, and ordered that their pictures should be drawn in the *Jahangir-nama*, with the view that their actual likenesses might afford a greater surprise to the reader than the mere description of them. One of the birds resembled a peahen, but was a little larger in size, though less than a peacock. When he was desirous of pairing, he used to spread his tail and feathers, and danced about like a peacock. His beak and feet resembled those of a barn-door fowl. His head, neck, and throat changed their colour every minute; but when anxious to pair, he became a perfect red, and seemed to be a beautiful piece of coral. After some time, he was as white as cotton, and sometimes he got as blue as a turquoise, and in short turned all colours like a chameleon. The piece of flesh which is attached to his head looked like the comb of a cock. But the curious part of it was this, that piece of flesh, when he was about to pair, hung down a span long, like the trunk of an elephant, and when again

spelt Goda, where the d may have been inserted for g. Goa was much beyond Mukarrab Khan's jurisdiction; whereas Goga was in it. Goga is the seaport of Ahmadabad, and was at one time the chief port of the Gulf of Kambay.—See Briggs's Cities of Gujarishtan, p. 281.

restored to its position, it was erected over his head to the height of two fingers, like the horn of a rhinoceros. The part round his eyes remained constantly of a blue colour, and was never subject to change, which was not the case with his wings, which were always changing their colour, contrary to those of a peacock.⁶⁸

I put the *tika* on the forehead of Dalpat with my Royal hands, selected him as the successor of his father, and conferred upon him the *jagir* and country of the deceased Rai Singh. A handsome ornamented inkstand and pen was this day given by I'timadu-d daula.

Lakhmi Chand, the Raja of Kamaun, one of the chief Rajas in the hills, was son of Raja Rai, who, at the time of waiting upon the late King, sent a petition, asking that the son of Raja Todar Mal might lead him to the royal presence, and his request was complied with. Lakhmi Chand now likewise begged me to order the son of I'timadu-d daula to conduct him to the Court; and to meet his wishes, I sent Shahpur to bring him into my presence. The hill-chief had brought a great number of the valuable rarities of his mountains for my acceptance. Amongst them were beautiful strong ponies called *Guts*, several hawks and falcons, numerous pods of musk, and whole skins of the musk-deer with the musk in them. He also presented me with various swords which were called *khandah* and *katara*. This Raja is the richest hill-chief and it is said that there is a gold mine in his territory.

As Khwaja Jahan had greatly distinguished himself in architecture, I sent him to Lahore to build a handsome palace for me.

DEREAT IN THE DAKHIN

Affairs in the Dakhin were in a very unsatisfactory state, in consequence of the bad generalship and want of care of

⁶⁸ This description is evidently meant for a turkeycock—which, strange to say, is in Turkish ascribed to India, and called *Hind Taughi*.—See David's *Turkish Grammer*, p. 133.

Khan-i 'azam, and a defeat had been suffered by Abdu-lla Khan. I summoned Khwaja Abu-l Hasan to my presence, and after inquiry, I ascertained that the disaster was attributable partly to the conceit and rashness of 'Abdu-lla Khan, and partly to discord and want of co-operation among the *amirs*.

'Abdu-lla Khan and the officers who had been appointed to serve under him, marched with the army of Gujarat by way of Nasik Tirbang. This force was well equipped; its numbers were from 10,000 to 14,000, and the officers serving in it were... It had been arranged that another force should advance from the side of Birar under the command of Raja Man Singh, Khan-Jahan, the *Amiru-l Umara*, and other officers. These two armies were to keep up communications, and to be informed of each other's movements, so that they might at an appointed time close in upon the enemy. If this plan had been carried out frankly and cordially without jealousy, it is very probable that under God's grace it would have succeeded.

'Abdu-lla Khan, having passed the Ghats, entered the country of the enemy, but made no arrangements for sending messengers to obtain intelligence of the other force, and to regulate his movement in concert, so as to place the enemy between the two armies. He trusted entirely to his own power, and thought that if he could effect the victory himself, it would be all the better. Acting upon this view, he paid no heed to Raja Man Singh when the latter wished to settle a concerted plan.

The enemy kept a sharp watch over his movements, and sent a large force of Mahrattas (*bargiyan*), who skirmished with him all day, and harassed him at night with rockets and other fiery projectiles, till the main body of the enemy drew near, and he was quite unaware of their proximity, although he approached Daulatabad, a stronghold of the Dakhinis... 'Ambar the black-faced, who had placed himself in command of the enemy, continually brought up reinforcements till he had assembled a large force, and he

constantly annoyed 'Abdu-lla with rockets and various kinds of fiery missiles (*atash-bazi*), till he reduced him to a sad condition. So, as the Imperial army had received no reinforcements, and the enemy was in great force, it was deemed expedient to retreat, and prepare for a new campaign. All the chiefs were unanimous in favour of this, and before dawn they began to fall back. The enemy pressed upon them to the boundaries of their own territory, but either side held its own. But a party of our force courted a serious encounter, and 'Ali Mardan Khan, after a valorous conflict, was left wounded in the hands of the enemy.⁶⁹... After another day, when they reached the frontier of Raja Baharjiu, an adherent of the Imperial throne, the enemy retired, and 'Abdu-lla Khan proceeded to Gujarat. It seems clear, that if proper precautions had been taken, and the two forces had been kept in co-operation, the objects of the campaign would have been accomplished. On the retreat of 'Abdu-lla, the army, which marched by way of Birar, had no alternative but to retire ; so it retreated and joined the camp of Prince Parwez, near Burhanpur. On receiving this information, I was greatly excited, and felt inclined to proceed thither myself to retrieve the position. But Khwaja Abu-l Hasan remonstrated..., and I resolved to send Khan-khanan...

The Dakhinis now made proposals for peace. 'Adil Khan professed amity, and promised, if the affairs of the Dakhinis were left to him, that he would restore sundry districts to the Imperial officers. I did not come to any decision on the matter, but left it to Khan-khanan.

EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The eighth New Year's Day of my reign fell on the 26th Muharram, 1022 A.H. (8th March, 1613 A.D.).

⁶⁹ *He was carried to Daulatabad, and Malik 'Ambar appointed a surgeon to attend him, but he died in a few days. A saying of his, continues the Ikbāl-nama, has become famous. A person*

JOURNEY TO AJMIR AND CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE RANA

On the 2nd Sha'ban I left Agra, with the intention of paying a visit to Ajmir, having two objects in view. One, to pay a visit to the tomb of Khwaja Mu'inu-d din Chishti, whose blessed influence had operated so powerfully on the fortunes of my dynasty. Second, to overcome and subjugate Amar Singh, who was the greatest of the *zamindars* and *rajas* of Hindustan. All the *rajas* and *rais* of the country have acknowledged him and his ancestors to be their chief and head. The sovereignty and government have been held by this family for a long time. For many years they held rule in the east country, and then had the title of *Raja*. Afterwards they fell upon the Dakhin, and brought the greater part of that country under their sway, when they took the title of *Rup*, "handsome," instead of that of *Raja*. After that they overran the mountain land of Mewat, and still advancing they got possession of the fortress of Jaipur.

From that date⁷⁰ up to the present year, which is the eighth of my reign, 1471 years have passed. Twenty-six individuals of this race have reigned over a period amounting to 1010 years, who have borne the title of *Rawal*. From the time of Rahab, who was the first to assume the title of Rana, to Rana Amar Singh, who is the present Rana, there have been twenty-six persons, who have reigned over a period of 461 years. During all this long period not one of them have bowed the neck in submission to any King or Emperor of Hind. They were nearly always in a state of insubordination and rebellion. So, in the days of the Emperor Babar, the Rana Sanga, having assembled all the *Rajas* and *Rais* of this country, with 180,000 horsemen and several hundred thousand infantry, fought a battle in the

attending him observed, "Victory is in the hands of heaven." He replied, "Truly victory is with heaven, but the battle is for man."

⁷⁰ It does not distinctly appear what "that date" means. Inferentially it would seem to signify the time when the title "*Rup*" was used.

vicinity of Bayana against the victorious army of the Musulmans, and suffered a signal defeat. The full particulars of this battle are given in that most trustworthy work, the *Waki'at*, written by the Emperor Babar himself. My father also devoted himself with great ardour to the subjection of this unruly race. Several times he sent expeditions against them, and in the twelfth year of his reign he marched in person to effect the reduction of Chitor, one of the strongest fortresses in the world, and to subdue the country of the Rana. After a siege of four months and ten days, he overpowered the men of Amar Singh's father, took the fortress, and then returned. Repeatedly he sent armies against the Rana, and each time they pressed him to hardy that he was reduced to the brink of ruin, when something occurred to save him from destruction. Near the end of his reign, my father, having directed his own attention to the conquest of the Dakhin, sent me with a large army and trusty leaders against the Rana. For reasons too lengthy to be here entered upon, both these enterprises failed.

When the Empire devolved upon me, as this conquest had been half effected under my leading, the first army I sent upon foreign service after my accession was this army against the Rana. My son Parwez was appointed to command, and all the resources of my government were applied to the service. Ample treasure and abundant artillery were ready to be sent off, when all was stopped by the unhappy outbreak of Khusru. I was obliged to pursue him to the Panjab, and the capital and interior of the country were denuded of troops. I was obliged to write to Parwez, directing him to return to protect Agra and the neighbourhood, and to remain there; so the campaign against the Rana was suspended. When, by the favour of God, I had quashed Khusru's rebellion, I returned to Agra, and I then sent Mahabat Khan, 'Abdu-lla Khan, and other *amirs* against the Rana; but until I started from Ajmir, the Imperial forces had not achieved any success of importance. There was nothing to detain me in Agra, and I felt assured

that nothing of any importance would be accomplished till I myself went thither.

At the time appointed, I left Agra and encamped in the garden of Dahra. The next day was the festival of the *Dasahra*, and according to rule the horses and elephants were decked out and paraded before me. The mothers⁷¹ (*walidaha*) and sisters of Khusru represented that he was exceedingly contrite and sorry for what he had done. Having thus excited my paternal affection, I called him into my presence, and arranged that he should come every day to pay his respects to me. I stayed in the garden twenty days, and on the 21st day of Mihr I started, having appointed Khwaja Jahan to the charge of the capital, with its palaces and treasures. On the 2nd Mihr, intelligence arrived that Raja Basu had died at Shahabad, on the Rana's frontier. On the 10th I encamped at Rup-bas, now called Amanabad. It was formerly the *jagir* of Rup, but after him I gave it to Amanu-lla son of Mahabat Khan, and I ordered that it should be called by his name. It was one of my regular hunting grounds, so I went out hunting every day. In these few days 158 deer, male and female, and other kinds of game were killed..... On the 10th Ramazan intelligence arrived of the death of Kalij Khan, one of the oldest servants of the State, in his eightieth year. He was engaged at Peshawar in controlling the Afghans.....

In this month (*Azur*) news arrived that the Europeans in Goa, in defiance of their engagements, had plundered four ships engaged in the foreign trade of the port of Surat; and having made a great many Muhammadans prisoners, had at the same time taken possession of their money and goods. It gave me much displeasure. Mukarab Khan, the governor of that harbour, received a dress of honour, besides an elephant and horse, and was commanded to

⁷¹ It has already been recorded that Khusru's mother had poisoned herself.

proceed to put a stop to such outrages. He started on the 18th of Azur...

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE RANA

After visiting the tomb of the saint Mu'inu-d din Chishti, the matter of the Rana was again taken into consideration, and I now determined to stay at Ajmir, and to send my dear son Khurram on the expedition. On the 6th I gave him leave to depart, and made him many presents.⁷² Besides the men who had already been sent on this service under Khan-i 'azam, I now placed 12,000 horse under the command of the Prince, and after granting presents to the officers, I despatched them. Fidai Khan was appointed *Bakhshi*... Although Khan-i 'azam had requested me to send Khurram on this service, and the Prince himself treated him with much attention, he did not show a proper spirit, and acted in an unsatisfactory manner. I wrote him a very kind letter,... but my words had no effect upon him, and he still went on in a foolish obstinate way. When Khurram found that he was not hearty in the work, he wrote to me that it was by no means desirable to keep him there, and that his relations with Khusru were the cause of his misbehaviour. So I ordered Mahabat Khan to go to Udipur and bring him away, and I ordered Muhammad Taki Diwan to proceed to Mandisor and convey to Ajmir his children and dependants.... On the 16th, I receive a despatch from Khurram, informing me that an elephant of which the Rana was very fond, and seventeen others, had been taken. He added that their master would soon be a prisoner.

NINTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The New Year's Day of the ninth year of my reign fell on a day corresponding with the 9th Safar, 1023 H. (1614 A.D.).

Mahabat Khan, who had been sent to fetch Khan-i 'azam and his son 'Abdu-lla, arrived. I consigned Khan-i

⁷² The text specifies them.

'azam to Asaf Khan, to custody at Gwalior, but to be honourably treated.

On the 18th Urdibihist, I forbid Khusru to come to my presence. In consequence of my paternal affection, and the supplications of his mothers, and sisters, I had given orders that he should come to pay his respects to me every day. But he showed no signs of frankness of spirit, and always seemed sad and downcast, so I forbid his coming to see me.

'ATR OF ROSES

'Atr of roses, the most excellent of perfumes, was discovered in my reign. The mother of Nur Jahan Begam conceived the idea of collecting the oil which rises to the surface when rose-water is heated, and this having been done, the oil was found to be a most powerful perfume.

SUBMISSION OF THE RANA

In the month of Bahman, intelligence came in of the submission of Rana Amar Singh, and of his willingness to pay homage to the Imperial throne. The particulars of the matter are these : My dear and fortunate son Sultan Khurram had established several military posts, especially in places where, from the insalubrity of the climate, the bad quality of the water, and the difficulty of access, many persons deemed it impossible to form a station. By this, and by keeping the Imperial forces in continual movement against the enemy, regardless of the intensity of the heat and the abundance of rain, he had captured the families of many Singhs, and had brought the enemy to such straits, that the Rana perceived he could hold out only a little longer, and that he must either flee from his country or be made a prisoner. Being helpless, he resolved to succumb, and to do homage. He sent his maternal uncle Subh Karan, and Hardas Jhala one of his most trusty and intelligent servants, praying my son to overlook his offences, and to give him an assurance of safety under the princely seal ; he

would then wait upon him in person to pay homage, and would send his son and heir-apparent to the Imperial Court, so that he might be classed among the adherents of the throne like all other *rajās*. He also begged that on account of old age he might be excused from proceeding to Court.

My son sent these persons to me in charge of Mulla Shukrulla, his *diwan*, who, after the settlement of this matter, was dignified with the title of Afzal Khan, and of Sundar Das, who afterwards received the title of Rai Rayan. My son wrote me the particulars in a despatch.... Rana Amar Singh and his ancestors, relying upon the security of his mountains and his home, had never seen one of the kings of Hindustan, and had never shown obedience; but now in my fortunate reign he had been compelled to make his submission. In compliance with my son's letter, I overlooked the Rana's offences, and wrote him a kind and reassuring *farman* under my own seal. I also wrote a kind letter to the Rana's son, desiring him to specify the way in which he would come to pay his respects, and assuring him that all things should be made pleasant for him. My son sent my letters to the Rana, to comfort him, and to gratify him with the expectation of my favour and kindness, and it was arranged that the Rana and his sons should have an interview with my son on the 28th Bahman.

GOOD NEWS

The second happy tidings, was the death of Bahadur, son of the chief of Gujarat, and the leaven of insubordination and turbulence. God of his mercy destroyed him, but he died a natural death.

The third happy tidings was the defeat of the Portuguese (*Warzi*), who had made every preparation for the capture of the port of Surat. An action took place between them and the English,⁷³ who had sought refuge in that port.

⁷³ *Angrezan*. This is perhaps the first occasion of the use of that word in an Indian book.

Most of their vessels were burnt by the English, and not being able to stand the contest, they took to flight, and sent a message to Mukarrab Khan, the governor of the ports of Gujarat, suing for peace, and representing that they had come with peaceful views, not to fight, and that the English had been the first to quarrel.

Another piece of intelligence that came was, that the Rajputs who had resolved to kill (*Malik*) 'Ambar had concealed themselves till they found an opportunity of approaching him, when one of them gave him an ineffectual wound. The men in the escort of 'Ambar killed the Rajput, and carried their master off home. A very little more would have made an end of this cursed fellow.

At the end of the month, while I was hunting in the environs of Ajmir, Muhammad Beg arrived with a letter from my son Sultan Khurram... From the letter it appeared that on the 26th Bahman the Rana came in and paid his respects to my son, with all the observances required by the rules of the Imperial Court. He presented as tribute a celebrated ruby belonging to his family, and... My son received him with great kindness; and when the Rana advanced to kiss the Prince's feet, and beg pardon for his offences, the Prince raised him up, did his best to cheer him, and presented him with a jewelled sword, etc., etc. It is the practice among *zamindars*, that they, and the son who is heir-apparent, never present themselves before kings together; so the Rana had not brought his son Karan, who was his heir. But the Prince wished to depart on that same day, so the Rana took his leave, and sent his son Karan to wait upon Khurram, and on the same day he started with the Prince on his journey to the Imperial Court.

TENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The New Year's Day of my tenth year corresponded with the 8th Safar,⁷⁴ 1024 H...

⁷⁴ This ought to be the 18th, corresponding to 10th March, 1615.

Karan (son of the Rana) was granted a *mansab* of 5000, and I gave him a small rosary of emeralds and pearls with a ruby in the middle, such as in Hindi is called *Smarani*...

DRINKING

The 25th of De was the day of the annual weighing of my son Khurram. He was now twenty-four years of age, a married man, and the father of a family, but yet he had never been addicted to drinking wine. This being the day for weighing him, I said to him, "My boy, you are the father of children, and kings and princes drink wine. To-day is a festival, and I will drink wine with you, and I give you leave to drink on feast days, on New Year's Day, and at great entertainments, but always with moderation ; for to drink to excess and weaken the intellect is avoided by the wise ; in fact, some good and benefit ought to be obtained from wine-drinking."

Up to my fourteenth year I had never drunk wine, except two or three times in childhood, when my mother or nurses had given me some as a remedy for some childish ailment. Once also my father called for some spirit (*arak*) to the amount of a *tola*, and mixing it with rose-water, made me drink it as a remedy for cough. In the days when my father was in the field against the Yusufzai Afghans, and was encamped near Atak, on the Nilab (Indus), I one day went out hunting. I met with many mishaps, and was very tired, when one of my attendants told me that if I would drink a cup of wine, it would relieve my fatigue and weariness. I was young, and prone to indulgence, so I sent a servant to the house of Hakim 'Ali for a refreshing drink. He brought me about a cup (*piyala*) and a half of yellow wine of sweet taste in a small bottle, and I drank it. The result was pleasant. From that time I took to wine-drinking, and from day to day took more and more, until wine of the grape had no effect upon me, and I resorted to spirit-drinking. In the course of nine years I got up to twenty

cups of double-distilled spirit, fourteen of which I drank in the day, and the remaining six at night. The weight of this was six *sirs* of Hindustan, equal to one *man* of Iran. My food in those days was one fowl and some bread. No one dared to expostulate with me, and matters reached such an extreme, that when in liquor I could not hold my cup for shaking and trembling. I drank, but others held the cup for me. At last I sent for the *hakim* (doctor) Humam, brother of Hakim Abu-l Fath, who was one of my father's attendants, and placed my case before him. With great kindness and interest, he spoke to me without concealment, and told me that if I went on drinking spirits in this way for six months longer, my state would be past remedy. His advice was good, and life is dear. I was greatly affected by his words, and from that day I began to diminish my potations, but I took to eating *faluha*.⁷⁵ As I lessened my drink, I increased the *faluha*; and I directed that my spirits should be mixed with wine of the grape; two parts wine and one spirit. Lessening my allowance daily, I reduced it in the course of seven years to six cups, each cup weighing eighteen *miskals* and a quarter. For fifteen years I have now kept to this quantity, taking neither more nor less. I take it at night, except on Thursday, that being the day of my accession to the throne, and on Friday, which is the most holy day in the week, for I do not think it right to pass these nights in heedlessness, and to fail in giving thanks to the Almighty for his blessings. On Thursday and on Sunday I eat no meat; that being the day of my accession, this my father's birthday. These days are held in great honour. After some time, instead of *faluha*, I took to opium. Now that my age is forty-six years and four months solar reckoning, and forty-seven years nine months lunar style, I take

⁷⁵ This word is variously written *faluha*, *faluhan*, *faluniya*, *faluniyan*. It is, no doubt, the name of some intoxicating drug or preparation, perhaps *bhāng*.

eight *surkhs*⁷⁶ of opium when five hours of the day have passed, and six *surkhs* after one hour of the evening.

VICTORIES

Towards the end of the year, tidings of victory arrived from all quarters of my dominions. The first victory was that won over Ahdad the Afghan, who had long been in rebellion in the mountains of Kabul...

Another victory was achieved over the army of the wretched Ambar. The following is a brief account of it. Some good officers and a body of *Bargis* (Mahrattas), a very hardy race of people, who are great movers of opposition and strife, being offended with 'Ambar, desired to become subjects to my throne. Having received assurances from Shahsawar Khan, who was with the royal army at Balapur, Adam Khan, Yakut Khan, and other chiefs, with the *Bargis* Jadu Rai and Baba Jukayath, came to see him, and he gave them each a horse, an elephant, a robe, and cash, according to their respective ranks. Having thus brought them into the interests of the throne, he marched with them from Balapur against 'Ambar. On their way they were opposed by an army of the Dakhinis; but they soon defeated it, and drove the men in panic to the camp of 'Ambar. In his vanity and pride, he resolved to hazard a battle with my victorious army. To his own forces he united the armies of 'Adil Khan and Kutbu-l Mulk, and with a train of artillery he marched to meet the royal army till he came within five or six *kos* of it.

On Sunday, the 25th of Bahman, they came to an engagement. At about three o' clock in the afternoon the fight commenced with rockets and guns, and at last Darab Khan, who commanded the foremost division, with other chiefs and warriors, drew their swords and vigorously

⁷⁶ The *surkh* or *rati* is the seed of the *Abrus precatorius*, which averages about 1.5/16 of a grain Troy (Wilson). The old *rati* was 1.75 gr.; Akbar's coin *rati* ran as high as 1.90 (Thomas).

attacked the enemy's advanced force. Their bravery and courage soon put their opponents to confusion. Without turning aside, they then fell upon the centre. In the same manner each division attacked the division which was before it, and the fight was terrible to behold. The battle went on for about an hour, and heaps of corpses were formed. 'Ambar, unable to withstand the royal army, fled from the field, and had it not been a very dark night, none of the enemy would have escaped. The great warriors of the royal army pursued the fugitives for about two or three *kos*, till horse and man were unable to move. The enemy was totally defeated and dispersed, and the warriors returned to their camp. All the enemy's guns, with 300 camels laden with rockets, many elephants, horses, and munitions of war to an incalculable extent, fell into the hands of the victorious army. The killed and wounded were innumerable, and a great number of chiefs were captured alive. Next day the army having moved from Fathpur, marched towards Khirki, which had been the shelter of the rebels; but no trace of them was found. It encamped there, and learnt that the enemy were completely disorganized.

The third conquest achieved in those days was that by which the territory of Kokrah and its diamond mines were taken possession of, through the enterprising exertions of Ibrahim Khan. The territory belongs to the province of Bihar and Patna, and through it there runs a stream, from which diamonds are extracted in a very peculiar manner. In the days when the water is low, and is left in little holes and troughs, the people whose business it is to extract the diamonds, and who have great expertness in the art, search out for those portions from which they observe many little insects issue like gnats, which are called in the language of those people *chika*. These parts, along the whole course of the stream which is accessible, they fence round with a wall of stones, and then dig it up with spades and axes, to about one yard and a half deep, and search among the stones and mud which are brought up. In such soil both large and

small diamonds are found, and sometimes so large that they are worth even a *lac* of rupees. In short, this territory and the stream from the bed of which diamonds are extracted were in the possession of Durjan Sal, *zamindar*. Although the governors of the province of Bihar had several times led their armies to invade his dominions, yet, on account of the impassable roads and thick forests, they were obliged to return, being contented only with two or three diamonds which he presented to them.

When the governorship of the provinces was transferred from Zafar Khan to Ibrahim Khan, I instructed the latter, on his departure to the province, to invade the dominion of that refractory chief, and disposses him. Accordingly, Ibrahim, immediately after his arrival in the province, collected a force and marched against the *zamindar*; who, as on former occasions, sent him some diamonds and elephants; but the Khan did not accept them, and having proceeded with all speed, invaded his dominions. Before the enemy could collect his force, Ibrahim penetrated into his territory, and before the news of his approach could reach him, attacked the hill and the valley where he resided. Ibrahim ordered his people to search for him, and he was at last found in a valley with one of his brothers and some women, among whom was his mother and other wives of his father. All the diamonds which they had were taken, and twenty-three elephants fell into the hands of the royal army. As a reward for this service, the *mansab* of Ibrahim Khan was raised to the personal salary of 4,000 and the command of 4,000 horse, with the title of Fath-Jang. In like manner promotions were ordered to be made in the rank of all those who had shown distinguished bravery in the accomplishment of this undertaking. The territory is still under the possession of the officers of this government; and diamonds which are extracted from the stream are brought to this court. Recently, a diamond was found, the value of which was estimated at the amount of 50,000 rupees, and it is hoped that if the search be continued, more excellent

diamonds will be placed in the repository of the crown jewels.

ELEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The *Nau-roz* of the eleventh year of my reign corresponded with the 1st Rabi'u-l awwal, 1025 H. (10th March, 1616 A.D.).

In this year, or rather in the tenth year of my reign, a dreadful plague (*waba*) broke out in many parts of Hindustan. It first appeared in the districts of the Panjab, and gradually came to Lahore. It destroyed the lives of many Muhammadans and Hindus. It spread through Sirhind and the Doab to Dehli and its dependent districts, and reduced them and the villages to a miserable condition. Now it has wholly subsided. It is said by old men, and it is also clear from the histories of former times, that this disease had never appeared before in this country. I asked the physicians and learned men what was the cause of it, as for two years in succession the country had suffered from famine, and there had been a deficiency of rain. Some said that it was to be attributed to the impurity of the air arising from drought and scarcity; but some ascribed it to other causes. God knows, and we must patiently submit to his will.⁷⁷

Before this date, some thieves had plundered the public treasury of the *kotwali*, and after a few days seven vagabonds were apprehended, with their chief named Namal. Some of the treasure was also recovered. I was incensed at the bold conduct of these scoundrels, and consequently I was determined to punish them severely. Each of them got a fitting punishment, and their chief was ordered to be trodden under the feet of an elephant. He petitioned to me that he would rather fight with that formidable animal than

⁷⁷ A few pages before, and in the tenth year of his reign, Janhangir records that one of his nobles died in the Dakhin of cholera (*haiza*).

suffer the agony of being trampled under his feet. I consented to this. A dagger was given to him, and notwithstanding that the elephant, which was wild and vicious, prostrated him several times, and notwithstanding he had been witness to the fate of his associates, yet, with undaunted courage, he managed to recover his feet, and inflict several wounds with his dagger upon the trunk, and succeeded in driving the animal back. It was truly an act of wonderful bravery, and I therefore spared his life, directing at the same time he was to be taken care of. After some time, he ungratefully made his escape. It gave me much annoyance. I issued orders to the *jagirdars* of the neighbourhood for his apprehension, and when caught he was hanged by the neck.

On the afternoon of Saturday, the 1st of Zi-l ka'da, corresponding with 21st of Aban, I marched in sound health from Ajmir in a European carriage drawn by four horses, and I ordered several nobles to make up carriages similar to it,⁷⁸ and to attend upon me with them. About sunset I reached my camp in the village Deo Rana, a distance of nearly two *kos*.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ A little above he tells us, that on the departure of Baba Khurram, he had given him "a carriage of the Feringi English fashion, that he might sit and ride in it." These are the only remote allusions made throughout the work to the embassy of Sir T. Roe, whose residence in Jahangir's camp lasted from the 10th January, 1616, to the 21st January, 1618.

⁷⁹ Thomas Roe thus mentions the mode of departure from Ajmir: "Thus richly accoutred, the King went into the coach, which waited for him under the care of his new English servant, who was dressed as gaudily as any player, and more so, and had trained four horses for the draught, which were trapped and harnessed all in gold. This was the first coach he had ever been in, made in imitation of that sent from England, and so like it that I only knew the difference by the cover, which was of gold velvet of Persia... Next followed the English coach, newly covered and richly trimmed, which he had given to his favourite queen, Nour-mahal, who sat in the inside. After this came a coach made after

It is customary in India, when a king, prince, or noble undertakes an expedition towards the east, to ride on an elephant with long tusks ; when towards the west, to ride on a horse of one colour ; when towards the north, to go in a litter or *palki* ; when towards the south, to go in a carriage drawn by bullocks. I remained at Ajmir five days less than three years. At that place there is the holy shrine of Khwaja Mu'nu-d din. Ajmir is situated within the limits of the second climate...

A large tray of fruits was brought before me. Among them were the celebrated melons of Karez, Badakhshan, and Kabul. Grapes from the latter place as well as from Samarkand. The sweet pomegranates of Yazd, and the sub-acid ones of Farrah. Pears from Samarkand and Badakhshan. Apples from Kashmir, Kabul, Jalalabad, and Samarkand were also there. Pineapples from the seaports of the Europeans were also in the tray. There were some plants of this latter fruit placed in my private gardens at Agra, and after some time they produced several thousands of that fruit. The *kaula* was also among them, which is smaller than an orange, and full of sweet juice. In the province of Bengal it is produced in abundance. I had no sufficient words to thank Almighty God for the enjoyment of these delicious fruits. My father the late King was exceedingly fond of fruit, especially melons, pomegranates, and grapes ; but in his reign, the melons from Karez, which are of the best quality, the pomegranates from Yazd, which are celebrated all over the world, and pears from Samarkand, were never brought to India, and therefore, when I see and enjoy those luxuries, I regret that my father is not here to share them...

When I was Prince, I had promised to give an

the fashion of the country, which I thought seemed out of countenance, in which were his younger sons. This was followed by about twenty spare royal elephants, all for the king's own use."—(Kerr's Collection of Voyages and Travels, vol. ix. p. 312).

Altamgha grant of the district of Malda in Bengal to Mir-Ziau-d din, a *saiyid* of Kazwin, and two of his sons. When I ascended the throne, I gave him the name of Mustafa Khan, and in this journey I had the pleasure of fulfilling my promise.

MANDU

Mandu is one of the divisions of the province of Malwa, and the total of its revenue is one *kror* thirty-nine *lacs* of *dams*. The city was for a long time capital of the kings of this country. Many buildings and relics of the old kings are still standing, for as yet decay has not fallen upon the city. On the 24th, I rode out to see the royal edifices. First I visited the *jami' masjid* which was built by Sultan Hoshang Ghorî. It is a very lofty building, and erected entirely of hewn stone. Although it has been standing 180 years, it looks as if built to-day.

Afterwards I visited the sepulchres of the kings and rulers of the Khiljî dynasty, among which there is also the tomb of the eternally cursed Nasir-u-d din, son of Sultan Ghiyas-u-d din. It is notorious that this graceless wretch twice attempted to kill his father by poison when he was in the eightieth year of his age; but the old monarch saved his life by the use of bezoar. The third time he gave him, with his own hand, a cup of sherbet mixed with poison, and told him that he must drink it. The father, seeing his son's determination, took the bezoar off his arm and placed it before him. Then he bowed in humble supplication before his Maker, and said, "O Lord! I have now arrived at the age of eighty. All this time I have passed in ease and prosperity, and in a state of pleasure such as has been the lot of no monarch. This moment is my last, and I pray thee not to hold my son Nasir answerable for my blood. May my death be deemed a natural death, and may my son be not held answerable for it." Having said this, he drank the poisoned draught and expired. What he meant by saying that he had enjoyed such luxury and pleasure as no king

ever did was this : In the forty-eighth year of his age, when he succeeded to the throne, he said to his friends and associates, that in the time of his father he had spent thirty years of his life in the command of the army, and had done all that was required of a soldier. Now that the sovereignty had devolved upon him, he had no desire for conquest, his only wish was to pass the remainder of his life in pleasure and luxury. It is said that he had 15,000 women in his harem. He built a city which was inhabited only by women, and all arts and sciences were taught them. The posts of governor, judge, magistrate, and all offices required in the management of a city, were held by persons of the female sex. Whenever he heard of a girl possessing beauty, he never rested till he obtained her. He was exceedingly fond of sport, and had made a deer park, in which he had collected all kinds of animals. He often amused himself in hunting in this park, in the company of women. As he had from the first determined, he made no invasion during his whole reign of thirty-two years, and spent all this time in ease, enjoyment, and pleasure ; and no enemy made any attack upon his dominions.

It is reported that Sher Khan Afghan, in the course of his reign, came to the tomb of Nasiru-d din, and although he had a brutal disposition, yet on account of the shameful deed above stated, he ordered his people to beat the tomb with their sticks. When I went to the tomb, I also kicked it several times, and ordered my attendants also to spurn it with their feet. Not satisfied even with this, I ordered the tomb to be opened, and the remains of that foul wretch to be thrown into fire. But then I remembered that fire is a part of the eternal light, and that it was very wrong to pollute it with that filthy matter. I also hesitated from burning his remains, lest by so doing a remission be made in his punishment in the next world. I ordered that his decayed bones and the dust of his body should be thrown into the Nerbudda, because it is said that as he had a very hot temper in the days of his youth, he always remained in

water. It is well known that one day, in a fit of intoxication, he threw himself into the tank of Kaliyadah, which was very deep. Some of the servants of the palace caught hold of his hair and dragged him out. When he came to his senses, and learnt what had happened, and that they had dragged him out by the hair, he was so angry with them that he ordered their hands to be cut off. The next time he fell into the tank, nobody attempted to pull him out, and so he was drowned. Now, at a period of 110 years after his death, it had come to pass that his rotten remains were also mixed with water.

One night I turned the discourse of my courtiers on the chase, and told them how fond of it I formerly was. At the same time it occurred to my mind whether all the animals and birds which I had killed since the time of my coming to reason could not be calculated. I therefore ordered all the news-writers, the gamekeepers and other officers to ascertain and write out a list of all the various animals and birds I had killed, and to show it to me. Accordingly a paper was prepared, from which it appeared that from the twelfth year of my age, A.H. 988, to the end of the last year, the eleventh of my reign, and the fiftieth lunar year of my age, 28,532 animals and birds were killed in the course of my sport, of which 17,168 were graminivorous animals and birds I had shot or killed with my own hands and the following is a detailed account of them.*

TWELFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The *Nau-roz* of my twelfth year corresponded with 12th Rabi'u-l awwal, 1026 (10th March, 1617, A.D.).

PROHIBITION OF TOBACCO

As the smoking of tobacco had taken very bad effect upon the health and mind of many persons, I ordered that no one should practise the habit. My brother Shah 'Abbas, also

* *Sir H. M. Elliot gives a summary of it in a note, infra.*

being aware of its evil effects, had issued a command against the use of it in Iran. But Khan-i 'Alam was so much addicted to smoking, that he could not abstain from it, but often smoked.

PRINCE KHURRAM AT COURT

On Thursday, the 20th Mihr, and the twelfth year of my reign, corresponding to the 11th of Shawwal, A.H. 1026, at about three o'clock afternoon, Prince Khurram arrived and obtained audience in the fort of Mandu. He had been absent from the Court for eleven months and eleven days. After he had paid me his respects, I called him in the window where I was sitting, and with the impulse of excessive paternal affection and love, I immediately rose up and took him in my arms. The more he expressed his reverence and respect for me, the more my tenderness increased towards him. I ordered him to sit by me. He presented me with 1,000 gold *mohurs* and 1,000 rupees...

Formerly at the conquest of the Rana, a *mansab* of 20,000 and the command of 10,000 horse had been conferred on Prince Khurram, and when he was sent to the Dakhin, he was honoured with the title of a Shah. Now, in consideration of his present service, his *mansab* was promoted to a *mansab* of 30,000, and the command of 20,000 horse. I also conferred on him the title of Shah-Jahan. It was also ordered, that henceforth a chair should be placed for him in the Court next to my throne, an honour which was particularly conferred on him, and had never before been known in my family.

A report came from Kashmir, that in the house of a silk-dealer two girls were born who had teeth in their mouths, and who were joined together by the back as far as the waist,* but their heads, hands and feet were all separate. They lived only a little time, and then died.

On Monday, the 2nd of the month, I drank wine in

* *az-pusht ta kamar ba ham muttasil.*

an assembly at the bank of a tank where my tents were pitched.⁸⁰

JOURNEY TO GUJARAT

On Friday, the 1st of De, I marched three *kos* and three quarters, and encamped on the banks of the tank of Jhanud. At this place Rai Man, the head of the royal footmen, caught a Rahu fish and brought it to me. I was very fond of this fish, which is the best of all fishes found in India. Since the date I had passed the defile of Chanda up to this time, a space of eleven months, I had not been able to procure it, although every search was made. I was highly pleased at receiving it this day, and granted Rai Man a horse.

Though the country from the *pargana* of Dahad is reckoned as belonging to Gujarat, yet it was only from this stage that I saw a marked difference in all things, both jungle and cultivation. The people and their tongue were different. The jungles which I saw on the roadside were full of fruit trees, such as those of the mango, khirni, and tamarind. The fields are protected by the thorns of the zakum tree. The cultivators, in order to separate the lands of their respective possessions, make hedges of these thorns round their fields, and between them leave a narrow path for wayfarers. As the soil is very sandy, the least movement in a party of travellers raises so much dust, that one can see another's face with difficulty, and therefore it came into my mind, that thenceforth Ahmadabad should not be called by that name but Gardabad.

KAMBAY

On Friday we travelled a distance of six *kos* and a half, and the tents were pitched on the sea-shore. Khambait (Kambay) is a very ancient port, and according to the Brahmins many thousand years have elapsed since its foundation. In the beginning it was called Trimbawati, and Raja Nar Singh

⁸⁰ *This is but one of many similar entries.*

Makhwar was its ruler. It would be very tedious to detail the account of this Raja as given by the Brahmins. To be brief, when the chiefship devolved on Raja Abhi Kumar, who was a descendant of his, by the will of heaven a great calamity fell upon this city. A shower of dust and dirt fell, and buried all the houses and buildings, and destroyed a great number of people. Before the occurrence of this catastrophe, an idol, which the Raja used to worship, appeared to him in a dream, and informed him of the approaching misfortune. Consequently, he embarked with his family on a vessel, and he also took with him the idol and the pillar which supported it behind. It so happened that the vessel was battered by a storm; but as the Raja was destined to live some time longer, he, by means of that same pillar, brought the ship and himself safe to land. He then set up that pillar as a mark of his intention to rebuild and newly people the place. As a pillar in Hindi is called Khamb, the city was hence called Khambawati, which was gradually worn down by constant use into Khambait. This port is one of the largest in Hindustan, and is situated on one of the estuaries of the sea of 'Uman. The average breadth of this estuary is estimated to be seven *kos*, and the length about forty. Ships cannot enter this branch, but are anchored in the port of Goga, which is one of the dependencies of Khambait, and is near the high sea. From hence the cargoes are transported to Khambait on boats (*gharab*, *grabs*), and in the same manner merchandize intended for exportation is carried to the ships. Before the arrival of my victorious arms, several boats had come to Khambait from the ports of Europe, and the crews, after selling and purchasing goods, were on the point of returning. On Sunday, the 10th, having decorated their boats, they displayed them before me, and then took their departure towards their destination. On Monday, the 11th, I embarked on a boat, and sailed about one *kos*.

In the time of Sultans of Gujarat, the *tamgha* or customs duty levied from the merchants was very large; but

it is now ordered that no more than one part in forty should be taken. In other ports the custom officers⁸¹ take the tenth of twentieth part, and give all sorts of trouble and annoyance to the merchants and travellers. In Jedda, the port of Mecca, one-fourth is taken, and sometimes even more than that; hence it may be inferred what the duties at the ports of Gujarat were in former reigns. Thanks be to God, this humble creature of the Almighty has dispensed with levying the *tamgha*, which amounted to a sum beyond calculation, throughout the territories under his rule, and the very name of *tamgha* has disappeared from his dominions.

COINS

It was also ordered in these days, that *tankas* of gold and silver, ten and twenty times heavier than the current gold *mohur* and rupee, should be struck.⁸² The legend on the face of the golden *tanka* was "Jahangir Shah, A.H. 1027" and on the reverse "Struck at Khambait, the 12th year of H. M. reign." For the silver *tanka*, on one side, "Jahangir Shah, A. H. 1027," with a verse round it, the meaning of which is, "This coin was struck by Jahangir Shah, the ray of victory." On the other side was impressed, "Struck at Khambait, the 12th year of H. M. reign." with this verse round it, "After the conquest of the Dakhin, he came from Mandu to Gujarat." In no reign before this had *tankas* been coined except of copper. The *tankas* of gold and silver were inventions of my own, and I called them *Jahangiri tankas*.⁸³

⁸¹ 'Ushurgas, literally, tithing-men.

⁸² In the sixteenth year of the reign, he gives to the Persian ambassador a gold mohur, called Nurjahani, weighing 100 tolas. In the twelfth year, he gives to the vakils of 'Adil Khan a gold mohur, called kaukab tola, equal to 500 current gold mohurs. In the tenth year he gives one of the same weight to the ambassador of 'Adil Khan, but calls it a Nur-jahani.

⁸³ This statement is certainly not true, so far as regards the silver *tanka*; and it seems to have puzzled the copyists, for in

CONQUEST OF KHURDA

Intelligence arrived from the eastern provinces that Mukarram Khan, son of Mu'azzam Khan, who had been appointed to the governorship of Orissa, had conquered the territory of Khurda; and that its Raja had sought protection at the Court of Raja Mahendra. As a reward of this service, the Khan was favoured with a *mansab* of 3000 personal allowance and the command of 2000 horse. He was also honoured with a kettle-drum, a horse and a *khil'at*. Between the province of Orissa and Golkonda, there were the territories of the *zamindars*, viz the Raja of Khurda and the Raja Mahendra. The territories of the former have been taken possession of by the servants of my Government, and it is hoped that through the influence of the Emperor's prosperous star, that of the latter will also be soon added to the protected countries.

THE JAM OF GUJARAT

When the royal tents were pitched on the banks of the Mahi, the *zamindar* (called) Jam attended at Court. Having obtained the honour of kissing the ground, he presented fifty horses, 100 *mohurs*, and 100 rupees. His name was Jasa, and Jam was his title, which is held by every man who succeeds to the chiefship. He is one of the greatest *zamindars* of the province of Gujarat. His territory is bordered by the sea. He has always 5000 or 6000 horsemen; but in time of war he can collect 10,000 or 12,000. There are plenty of excellent horses in his territory, and a Kachi horse is sold at as high as 2000 or 3000 rupees. I bestowed a *khil'at* upon him.

THIRTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

On Sunday night, the 23rd of Rabi'u-l awwal, A.H. 1027 (10th March, 1618), at about two hours after sunset, that several MSS. the word *man* (I) is written instead of *mas* or *mis* (copper), making the whole passage unintelligible. But perhaps nonsense was preferred to error.

great luminary which benefits the world with its bounty entered Aries, the first sign of the Zodiac. This New Year's Day which gave light to the world, brought to a close the twelfth year of this humble servant of God, which had been passed in happiness, and now a new, auspicious and prosperous year began.

On Thursday, the 2nd of Farwardin, the festival of my being weighed against metals on the lunar anniversary of my birth occurred ; and the happy fifty-first year of my age commenced. May the remaining days of my life be spent in occupations, consistent with the will of God, and no moment pass without reflection upon his goodness ! After the ceremony was over, a wine party was convened, and the most familiar servants of the throne, being favoured with draughts of wine, became merry.

The Tuesday night, 21st of the month, I marched on my return towards Ahmadabad. As the excess of heat and the oppressive atmosphere were very grievous to the camp followers, and a great distance had to be travelled before we could reach Agra, it occurred to me that I had better remain at Mandu during this hot season. As I had heard much praise of the rainy season of Gujarat, and as there was no comparison between the city of Ahmadabad and that of Mandu, I at last determined to remain in the former. The Almighty God always and in all places has extended his assistance and protection to this humble creature ; and this is shown from the fact that at this very time it was reported to me that a pestilential disease (*waba*) had broken out in Agra, and numbers of men had perished. For this reason I was fully confirmed in my resolution of postponing my march towards Agra, which had occurred to my mind by the divine inspiration.

COINS

Formerly it was customary to strike my name on one side of the coin, and that of the place, and the month, and the year of the reign, on the obverse. It now occurred to my

mind that, instead of the name of the month, the figure of the sign of the Zodiac corresponding to the particular month should be stamped. For instance, in the month of Farwardin the figure of a Ram, in Urdubihisht that of a Bull, and so on ; that is, in every month in which a coin might be struck, the figure of the constellation in which the Sun might be at the time should be impressed on one side of it. This was my own innovation. It had never been done before.

DRINKING

On Thursday, 20,000 *darabs* were granted to Hakim Masihu-z Zaman, and 100 gold *mohurs* and 1000 rupees to Hakim Ruhu-lla. As they well knew that the air of Gujarat was very uncongenial to my health, they told me that if I would diminish a little the usual quantity of wine and opium which I took, my complaint would be at once removed. Accordingly, on the very first day I derived great benefit from their advice.

ILLNESS OF JAHANGIR

On Saturday, I had a severe headache, which was followed by fever. That night I did not take my usual quantity of wine. After midnight the effect of my abstinence became apparent, and aggravated the fever with which I was tossing about on my bed till morning. In the evening of Sunday the fever decreased ; and by the advice of some physicians of Multan, I took my usual quantity of wine. They also repeatedly recommended me to take some gruel made of pulse and rice, but I could not manage to do so. From the time I arrived at years of discretion, I had never, so far as I recollect, drunk such broth, and I hope I may never be obliged to drink it again. When my meal was brought, I had no inclination to take it. In short, I fasted altogether three days and three nights. Although I had fever only one day and one night, yet I was as weak as if I had been for a long time laid up in my bed. I had no appetite at all.

AHMEDABAD

I am at a loss to conceive what beauty and excellence the founder of this city saw in this wretched land, that he was induced to build a city here; and how after him others also should spend the days of their precious life in this dirty place. Hot wind always blows here, and there is very little water. I have already mentioned that it is very sandy, and that the atmosphere is loaded with dust. The water is exceedingly bad and disagreeable; and the river which runs along the outskirts of the city is always dry, except during the rains. The water of the wells is bitter and brackish, and that of the tanks in the outskirts becomes like buttermilk from the mixture of soap which the washermen leave in it. Those people who are somewhat affluent have reservoirs in their houses, which are filled with rain water during the rainy season, and they drink from this supply during the whole year. It is manifestly very injurious to drink water which is never fanned by a breeze, and stagnates in a place where there is no passage for exhalation. Outside of the city, instead of verdure and flowers, all the ground is covered with *zakum* (thorn-trees), and the effect of the air which blows over these thorns is well known. I have previously called this city Gardabad. Now I do not know what to call it—whether Samumistan (the home of the simoom), Bimaristan (place of sickness), Zakumdar (thorn-brake), or Jahannamabad (hell), for all these names are appropriate.

POETRY

It was reported in these days that Khan-khanan, the commander-in-chief and my preceptor, had composed a *ghazal* in imitation of the well-known verse—

“For one rose the pain of a hundred thorns must be
suffered.”

And that Mirza Rustam Safawi and Mirza Murad his son had also tried their talents in the same manner. Instantly the following couplet occurred to my mind—

“A cup of wine should be quaffed in the presence of
one’s beloved.

The clouds too are thick, it is time to drink deep.”

Of my courtiers who were present, those who had a turn for poetry composed *ghazals* and repeated them before me. The first mentioned verse is a very celebrated one, composed by Maulana 'Abdu-r Rahman Jami. I have read the whole *ghazal*; but except that verse, which is, as it were, a proverb on the tongues of all people, the others are not of any great elegance. They are, indeed, very plain and homely.

This day Abu-l Hasan, a painter, who bore the title of Nadiru-z Zaman, drew a picture of my Court, and presented it to me. He had attached it as a frontispiece to the *Jahangir-nama*. As it was well worthy of praise, I loaded him with great favours. He was an elegant painter, and had no match in his time. If the celebrated artists Abu-l Hai and Bihzad were now alive, they would do him full justice for his exquisite taste in painting. His father, Aka Raza, was always with me while I was a Prince, and his son was born in my household. However, the son is far superior to the father. I gave him a good education, and took care to cultivate his mind from his youth till he became one of the most distinguished men of his age. The portraits furnished by him were beautiful. Mansur is also a master of the art of drawing, and he has the title of Nadiru-l Asli. In the time of my father and my own, there have been none to compare with these two artists. I am very fond of pictures, and have such discrimination in judging them, that I can tell the name of the artist, whether living or dead. If there were similar portraits finished by several artists, I could point out the painter of each. Even if one portrait were finished by several painters, I could mention the names of those who had drawn the different portions of the single picture. In fact, I could declare without fail by whom the brow and by whom the eye-

lashes were drawn, or if any one had touched up the portrait after it was drawn by the first painter.⁸⁴

PUBLICATION OF THE EMPEROR'S MEMOIRS

As the events of twelve years forming part of the *Jahangir-nama* had been written down, I ordered the *mutasaddis* of my library to make a volume of them, and prepare a number of copies, to be distributed among the chief servants of the throne, and also to be sent to all parts of the country, that great and influential men might make it their study and exemplar. On Friday, one of my writers having finished a copy and bound it, brought it to me. As this was the first copy, I gave it to Prince Shah Jahan, whom I considered in all things the first of all my sons. On the outside of it I wrote with my own hand that it was presented to him on such a date and at such a place. May he be favoured with the ability of knowing the contents of it, which shall obtain for him God's grace and the blessing of His creatures !

EXECUTIONS

At this date a certain prisoner was brought before me, and I gave orders for his execution. The executioner acted very promptly, carried him to the place of punishment, and gave effect to my order. After a little while, at the intercession of one of my courtiers, I granted his life, but ordered his feet to be cut off. But according to his destiny, he had been beheaded before my orders arrived. Although he deserved death, yet I regretted the circumstance, and

⁸⁴ "In his time there were found, in the Indies, native painters, who copied the finest of our European pictures with a fidelity that might vie with the originals. He was partial to the sciences of Europe, and it was this which attached him to the Jesuits. He caused a church and a residence to be built for them at Lahore."—Catrou's *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 178. See also Sir T. Roe in *Kerr's Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix., pp. 279-289.

ordered that henceforth, in the event of any person being sentenced to death, notwithstanding that the orders might be imperative, yet they should not be carried into effect till sunset, and if up to that time no reprieve should be issued, the punishment should be then inflicted on the criminal.

A BAZAR AT COURT

On Tuesday night, the 19th, a bazar was held at my own residence. Before this, it was an established custom that the sellers of manufactured goods of the city should bring and expose them for sale in the courtyard of my palace. Jewels, inlaid articles, implements, and all kinds of cloths and stuffs sold in the bazars, were to be seen on these occasions. It came into my mind, that if the market were held in the night-time, and plenty of lanterns were lighted before each shop, it would be a very pretty exhibition. In fact, when it was done, it was exactly as I had anticipated : it was altogether a novelty. I visited all the shops, and purchased what jewels and ornamented articles and other things appeared good to me.

DRINKING

The climate of this part of the country was not beneficial to my health, and the physicians had advised me to lessen the quantity of wine I usually drank. I deemed this prudent, and began to do so. In the course of one week I reduced the quantity to about one cup. Formerly I took six cups every night, each cup containing seven *tolas* and a half of liquor, that is, forty-five *tolas* altogether;⁸⁵ but now each cup contained six and one third of a *tola*, the whole being thirty-seven *tolas* and a half.

RENUNCIATION OF HUNTING

It was one of the remarkable events of my life, that when I was about sixteen or seventeen years, I made at Allaha-bad a vow to God, that when I should arrive at the fiftieth

⁸⁵ *Rather more than an Imperial pint.*

year of my age, I would leave off shooting, and give no pain to any living creature.⁸⁶ Mukarrab Khan, who was one of my most confidential officers, was acquainted with this vow. In short, now that I had arrived at that age, and the fiftieth year had commenced, one day it happened, that through the excess of smoke and vapour, I could not freely draw my breath, and was very much troubled on that account. In this state I suddenly, through divine inspiration, recollected what I had promised, and now I determined to conform to my former resolution. I resolved within myself, that after a lapse of this the fiftieth year, and the expiration of the time I had fixed, I would, under the guidance of Almighty God, go to visit the tomb of my father, and, having invoked the aid of his holy soul, I would entirely abstain from that habit. As soon as these ideas occurred to my mind, I was entirely relieved of pain, and found myself fresh and happy. I immediately indulged my tongue by expressing thanks to the Almighty God, and I trusted that he would assist me in my resolution.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ *His passion for shooting is shown by the statement which he makes at the close of the events of the eleventh year. He there says that as the discourse happened one night to turn upon sport, he directed his news-writers and huntsmen to make out a statement showing how many animals he had killed during his life. It appeared that he had been present, from the twelfth year of his age to his fiftieth, at the death of no less than 28,532 animals, of which 17,168 had been killed with his own hand, i.e., 3203 quadrupeds, comprising, amongst others, 86 tigers, 889 nilgaos, 1372 deer, 36 wild buffaloes, 90 wild boars, 23 hares; and 13,964 birds, including 10,348 pigeons, and 156 waterfowl. The number is made up of crows, owls, doves and other birds which do not enter into the catalogue of English sport.*

⁸⁷ *The Emperor subsequently retracted his resolution, and gives his reason for so doing; but it is not consistent with what is here stated to be the cause of his resolve; see p. 143. He frequently went out hunting. In the eighteenth year of his reign, and fifty-sixth of his age, he records that he went out on horseback and shot a tiger.*

A BRIDGE

In the next march I crossed the Mahi by the bridge which had been thrown over it. Although in this river there were no boats fit for building bridges, and the water was very deep and flowed forcibly, yet through the good management of Abu-l Hasan Mir Bakhshi, a very strong bridge of 140 yards in length and four yards in breadth was prepared in only three days. By way of testing its strength, I ordered one of my largest elephants with three other female elephants to be taken over it. The bridge was so strong that the weight of the mountain-like elephants did not shake it in the least.

A COMET⁸⁸

Saturday, 17th Zi-l kada. Several nights before this, a little before dawn, a luminous vapour, in the form of a column, had made its appearance, and every succeeding night it arose half an hour earlier than on the preceding night. When it had attained its full development, it looked like a spear,⁸⁹ with the two ends thin, but thick about the middle. It was a little curved like a reaping-sickle, with its back towards the south, and its edge towards the north. On the date above mentioned, it rose three hours before sunrise. The astronomers measured its size with their astrolables, and on an average of different observations, it was found to extend 24 degrees. Its course was in the empyrean heaven, but it had a proper motion of its own, independent of that firmament, as it was retrograde—first appearing in the sign of the Scorpion, then in that of Scales. Its declination was southerly. Astrologers call such a phenomenon a spear, and have written that it portends evil to the chiefs of Arabia, and the establishment of an enemy's power over them. God only knows if this be true !

⁸⁸ This passage is the work of Sir H. M. Elliot.

⁸⁹ This word might also be translated a "porcupine."

Sixteen nights⁹⁰ after its first appearance, a comet appeared in the same quarter, having a shining nucleus, with a tail in appearance about two or three yards long, but in the tail there was no light or splendour. Up to the present time, nearly eight years have elapsed since its first appearance, and when it disappears, I shall take care to record it, as well as the effects which have resulted from it.⁹¹

A STORY

On the way I passed through a field of *juwar*, in which every plant had no less than twelve bunches of corn, while in other fields there is generally only one. It excited my astonishment, and recalled to my mind the tale of the King and the Gardener. A King entered a garden during the heat of the day, and met a gardener there. He inquired of him whether there were any pomegranates, and received a reply that there were. His Majesty told him to bring a cupful of the juice of that fruit, on which the gardener told his daughter to execute that commission. She was a handsome and accomplished girl. She brought the cupful of

⁹⁰ Literally, "Up to the above date, after sixteen nights since the phenomenon arose," to which it is difficult to assign any exact meaning.

⁹¹ It was the discovery of a similar phenomenon, namely a new star in Cassiopeia, not fifty years before this, which introduced Tycho Brahe to the notice of the world as an astronomer. The star he discovered, however, only lasted from November, 1572, to March, 1574. The greatest of Grecian astronomers, Hipparchus, is said to have become an observer through the discovery of a similar phenomenon. As Jahangir's star, if it was one, appeared in the Ecliptic, it must have been noticed by European astronomers, especially as the discoveries effected by Galileo's telescope were at that time attracting general observation to the heavens. The statement given in the Extract from the *Iqbal-nama* is much more probable than this. In that there is no mention of its continuance, and merely the effects which were visible for eight years are recorded, according to the superstitious notions of the time.

that beverage, and covered it with a few leaves. The King drank it, and asked the girl why she had put the leaves cover it. The girl with much readiness replied, that she had done it to prevent His Majesty drinking too fast, as drinking of liquids just after a fatiguing journey was not good. The King fell in love with her and wished to take her into his palace. He asked the gardener how much he derived each year from his garden. He said 300 *dinars*. He then asked how much he paid to the *diwan*. He gave answer that he did not pay anything on fruit-trees, but whatever sum he derived from his agriculture, he paid a tenth part to the State. His Majesty said within himself, "There are numerous gardens and trees in my dominions; and if I fix a revenue of a tenth of them, I shall collect a great deal of money."

He then desired the girl to bring another cup of the pomegranate juice. She was late in bringing it this time, and it was not much she brought. His Majesty asked her the reason for this deficiency, observing that she brought it quickly the first time and in great plenty, that now she had delayed long, and brought but little. The daughter replied, "The first time one pomegranate sufficed. I have now squeezed several, and have not been able to obtain so much juice." The Sultan was astonished, upon which her father replied that good produce is entirely dependent on the good disposition of the Sovereign; that he believed that his guest was a King; and that from the time he inquired respecting the produce of the garden, his disposition was altogether changed; and that therefore the cup did not come full of the juice. The Sultan was impressed with his remark, and resolved upon relinquishing the tax. After a little time, His Majesty desired the girl to bring a third cup of the same beverage. This time the girl came sooner, and with a cup brimful, which convinced the King that the surmise of the gardener was sound. The Sultan commended the gardener's penetration, and divulged to him his real rank, and the reflections which had been passing to his

mind. He then asked to be allowed to take his daughter in marriage, in order that a memorial of this interview and its circumstances might remain for the instruction of the world. In short, the abundance of produce depends entirely on the good will and justice of the Sovereign. Thanks to the Almighty God, that no revenue on fruit-trees has been taken during my reign; and I gave orders that if any one were to plant a garden in cultivated land, he was not to pay any revenue. I pray that the Almighty may cause the mind of this humble creature to entertain good and pure intentions !

RANTHAMBOR

On Monday, the 3rd De, I went to see the fort of Ranthambor. There are two hills adjacent to each other, one is called Ran, and the other Thambor, and the fort stands on the latter. The name of Ranthambor is formed by the connexion of the two names. Although the fort is very strong, and has much water in it, yet the hill called Ran is still stronger and better situated, and the fort can be taken only from that side.

FOURTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The *Nau-roz* of my fourteenth year corresponded with—Rabi'u-l akhir, 1028 H. (10th March, 1619 A.D.).

NUR JAHAN SHOOTS A TIGER

My huntsmen reported to me that there was in the neighbourhood (of Mathura) a tiger, which greatly distressed the inhabitants. I ordered his retreat to be closely surrounded with a number of elephants. Towards evening I and my attendants mounted and went out. As I had made a vow not to kill any animal with my own hands, I told Nur Jahan to fire my musket. The smell of the tiger made the elephant very restless, and he would not stand still, and to take good aim from a *howda* is a very difficult feat. Mirza Rustam, who after me has no equal as a marksman, had fired three or four shots from an elephant's back without

effect. Nur Jahan, however, killed this tiger with the first shot.

'ABDU-L HAKK DEHLAWI

Shaikh 'Abdu-l Hakk Dehlawi, one of the most learned and accomplished men of the time, came to wait upon me, and presented to me a book which he had written upon the *shaikhs* of India. He had suffered a good deal of trouble, and was living in retirement at Dehli, resigned to his lot and trusting in God. He was an excellent man, and his society was very agreeable. I showed him great attention and courtesy.

JOURNEY TO KASHMIR

⁹²On Tuesday, the 14th, the royal camp halted at Hasan Abdal. As an account of this road and a description of the stages have been already given in the narrative of my expedition to Kabul, I will not repeat them here ; but from this place to Kashmir I will record all occurrences, stage by stage, please God ! From the time of my disembarking from boats at Akbarpur up to reaching Hasan Abdal, I have travelled 178 *kos* during sixty-nine days, in fifty-eight marches and one halt. As there are at this place a fountain, a small cascade, and a basin filled with water of the most translucent clearness, I remained nere two days.

On Thursday, the 16th, I celebrated the lunar anniversary, and the fifty-second lunar year of my age commenced, in all gratitude to my Maker, and with every prospect of happiness. As the road I was going to take was full of hills and passes, ravines and ascents, and the royal party would have found it difficult to march all together, it was determined that the lady Maryamu-z Zamani, and the other *begams*, should remain behind a few days, and come on at their ease afterwards ; and the Prime Minister, I'timadu-d daula al-Khakani, Sadik Khan Bakhshi, and Sa'adat Khan

⁹² Translated by Sir H. M. Elliot.

Mir Saman, should also come on subsequently with the household and establishments. For the same reason Mirza Safawi and Khani 'Azam were sent on with a party of my attendants by way of Punch, and I myself went accompanied by only a few of my personal friends, and the servants who were absolutely necessary.

On Friday I marched three *kos* and a half to Sultanpur.⁹³ Here intelligence was received of Rana Amar Singh having died a natural death. Jagat Singh, his grandson, and Bhim, his son, who were in attendance upon me, were honoured with *khil'ats*, and it was ordered that Raja Kishan Das should convey to Kunwar Karan a *farman*, conferring the title of Rana, with a *khil'at*, and a horse from my own stables, and so do him honour, and congratulate him upon his succession.

I heard from the people of this country that a noise like that of thunder fell upon the ear from a hill in the neighbourhood, though there might be at the time no sign of rain, or cloud, or lightning. They therefore call this hill Garaj. This sound is now to be heard every year, or certainly every two years. I have also heard this matter frequently mentioned in my father's presence. As the story is a very strange one, I have recorded it, but God knows whether it is true.⁹⁴

⁹³ This village lies on the southern bank of the Harroh river.

⁹⁴ This is still commonly reported in the neighbourhood, but the sounds are said to have ceased within the last twenty years, since the fort of Srikote was built on the summit of the hill. The mountain is no doubt that which is now called Gandgarh, composed of clay-slate capped with limestone. The name of Garaj is not now known, but the local tradition is, that it was once called Ganigarh (evidently Garajgarh), but that some Emperor changed it to Gandgarh "the bald", on account of its apparent barrenness. The sounds are said to proceed from a Rakas, or demon, whom Raja Rasalu, the King Arthur of the traditions of the Upper Sind Sagar, imprisoned in a cavern. He was the son of Salbahan, and is said to have built the tope at Phallur, near Usman Khatur:

On Saturday, the 18th, I marched four *kos* and a half to Sahi. During this stage we entered the *pargana* of Hazara Farigh.⁹⁵

On Sunday, the 19th, we encamped at Naushehra,⁹⁶ after travelling three *kos* and three-quarters, where we entered Dhamtaur. As far as the eye could reach, the blossoms of the *thal kanwal* and other flowers were glowing between the green foliage. It was a beautiful scene.

On Monday, the 20th, after a march of three *kos* and a half, I arrived at Salhar,⁹⁷ where Mahabat Khan presented jewels and inlaid arms to the value of 60,000 rupees. In this tract I saw a flower red and fiery, in the form of a *gul khitmi* (marsh-mallow), but smaller. So many flowers were blooming near one another, that it appeared to be all one flower. The tree is like that of the apricot. On the slope of this hill there were many wild violets, of exceeding fragrance, but their colour was paler than that of the usual variety.

On Tuesday, the 21st, we travelled three *kos*, and encamped at Malgalli.⁹⁸ On this day Mahabat Khan was despatched to his government at Bangash, and I gave him a *khil'at*, a *postin*, and an elephant from my private stables.

⁹⁵ Hazara is not so called from the famous Mughal tribe, as there are none of them in it. The fertility of this valley is celebrated especially for wheat. A local distich runs :

"Chach Hazara kanaka bhalyan, Dhanne khubi gain ;
Sur Sikesar te ghore bhale, Ishnor doabe te dhaen."

That is, the wheat of Chach Hazara, the cows of Dhanni, the horses of Sikesar (salt range), the rice of Hashnagar (near Peshawar), are all excellent.

⁹⁶ The village is on the eastern bank of the river Dhor, but the distance between this place and Sultanpur is greater than here represented.

⁹⁷ This place is on the eastern bank of one of the feeders of the same river, under Mount Sirban.

⁹⁸ Still well known as an encamping ground, more generally called Mangli.

During the whole march there was drizzling rain, and it rained also at night. Snow fell in the morning, and as the whole road was muddy and very slippery, the beasts which happened to be at all weak fell in every direction, and were not able to rise again. Twenty-five elephants belonging to the illustrious Government were lost upon the occasion. As the weather was very cloudy, I halted here for two days.

On Thursday, the 23rd, Sultan Hussain, the zamindar of Pakli (or Pakhali), obtained the honour of kissing the earth, for here we had entered Pakli. It is an extraordinary thing that, when my father was here, snow also fell as it did on this occasion; whereas for several years past there had been no fall, and rain also had been very scanty.

On Friday, the 24th, I marched four *kos* to Tawadkar. There was much mud on this road also, and the whole way the plum and guava trees were in blossom, and the pine-trees also were ravishing to the sight.

On Saturday, the 25th, I travelled over nearly three *kos* and a half to the neighbourhood of Pakli.

On Sunday, the 26th, I mounted and rode down some partridges.⁹⁹ Towards evening, at the request of Sultan Husain, I went to his residence, and honoured him much in the eyes of his compeers and friends. My father also visited him. He presented some horses, swords, hawks and falcons. I accepted some of the birds and returned the other things.

Sarkar Pakli is thirty-five *kos* in length, by twenty-five in breadth. On the east it has the mountains of Kashmir, on the west Attock Benares, on the north Kator, on the south the country of the Ghakkars. It is said that when

⁹⁹ *The Afghans often ride down partridges in a way which is much easier of execution than one would imagine. Two or more horsemen put up a partridge, which makes a short flight and sits down; a horseman then puts it up again. The hunters relieve one another, so as to allow the bird no rest, till it becomes too tired to fly, when they ride it over as it runs, or knock it down with sticks.*—*Elphinstone's Kingdom of Caubul*, vol. i, p. 375.

Timur was returning to Turan from the conquest of Hindustan, he left some of his followers here. The people themselves say they are by origin Farsis (?), but they cannot tell what was the name of their leader. They are now called Lahori, and their speech is that of the Jats. The same may be said of the people of Dhamtaur. In the time of my father Shah Rukh was the *zamindar* of Dhamtaur. His son Bahadur is now *zamindar*. Although the people of Pakli and Dhamtaur intermarry and communicate freely, yet they are always quarrelling, like other *zamindars*, about boundaries. These people have always been well affected towards our family. Sultan Mahmud, the father of Sultan Husain of Pakli, and Shah Rukh, both came to visit me before my accession. Notwithstanding that Sultan Husain is seventy years old, he is to all appearance strong; he can ride and take exercise.

In this country *bozah* is prepared from bread and rice, which liquor the people call *sir*, but it is very much stronger than *bozah*. They drink nothing but *sir* with their food, and the oldest is considered to be the best; and when the ingredients are mixed, the people keep it tied up in jars for two or three years in their houses. They then take off the scum, and the liquor is called *achi*, which can be kept for ten years. If it is kept for a longer period, so much the better; but it should never be less than one year old. Sultan Mahmud used to take a cup of *sir*, and yet a mouthful is sufficient to create intoxication. Sultan Husain does the same. They brought the very first quality for my use. I took some by way of trial. I had taken some before. It is harsh and bitter to the taste; and it seems that they mix a little *bhang* in it. If you get drunk with it, it occasions drowsiness. If there were no such thing as wine, this might be used as a substitute. The fruits are apricots, peaches, and pears, but they are all sour and ill-flavoured.

They make their houses and dwellings all of wood, after the manner of Kashmir. There is plenty of game here, as well as horses, mules, and horned cattle. Goats and fowls

are abundant. The mules are rendered weak and useless, in consequence of the heavy loads which they have been made to carry. As it was reported that a few marches ahead the country was not sufficiently populous to supply food for my retinue, orders were issued to take only the few tents and establishments which were absolutely necessary, to diminish the number of elephants, and to take supplies sufficient for three or four days. A few attendants were selected to accompany me, and the rest were placed under the orders of Khwaja Abu-l Hasan Nakhshabi, to follow a few stages after me. Notwithstanding all my precautions and injunctions, it was found necessary to take with me 700 elephants even for the reduced tents and establishments. The *mansab* of Sultan Husain, which was 400 personal and 300 horse, was raised to 600 personal and 350 horse, and I gave him a *khil'at*, an ornamented dagger, and an elephant. Bahadur Dhamatauri, who stands appointed to Bangash, was raised to a *mansab* of 200 personal and 100 horse.

On Sunday, the 29th, I marched five *kos* and a quarter, crossing the bridge and stream of Nain Sukh. This Nain Sukh flows from the north to the south, rising in the hills below the country of Badakhshan and Tibet. As in this place the river is divided into two branches, I ordered two wooden bridges to be made; one was eighteen yards long, and the other fourteen, and the breadth of each was five yards. The following is the mode of making a bridge in this country. Trees of *sal* was thrown over the river, and their two ends are lashed firmly to the rock; and across these thick planks are riveted strongly with nails and ropes. A bridge so made lasts for several years, with occasional repairs. The elephants were made to ford the stream, but horse and foot crossed over the bridge. It was Sultan Mahmud who named this river Nain Sukh, which means "the eye's repose."

On Thursday, the 3rd, after travelling nearly three *kos* and a half, we encamped on the bank of the Kishenganga. On this march we crossed an exceedingly high hill; the

ascent was one *kos*, and the descent one and a half. They call it Pham Dirang, because in the Kashmiri tongue cotton is called *pham*, and as there were agents here, on account of the Kings of Kashmir, who levied duties on each load of cotton, and as delay or *dirang* occurred on this account, the place became known as Pham Dirang. After passing the bridge, we saw a cascade, of which the water was beautifully clear. Sitting down near it, I drank my usual cups of wine, and arrived in camp at eventide. There was an old bridge over this river fifty-four yards long, and one and a half broad, by which those on foot crossed. I ordered another bridge to be made near it, fifty-three yards long, three broad. As the stream was deep and rapid, I made the elephants pass over without their loads, but horse and foot crossed by the bridges. By orders of my father, a very strong *sarai* was built here of stone and mortar, on the top of a hill to the east of the river.

As only one day remained before the Sun would enter a new sign, I sent on Mu'tamad Khan to select a high and conspicuous spot on which to erect my throne, and make preparations for the festival of the New Year. It so happened that a little beyond the bridge, on the eastern bank of the river, there was an eminence—a charming green spot, on the top of which there was a level surface of fifty yards, just as if the executors of the decrees of God had designed it for such an occasion. It was there that Mutamad Khan set up the decorations for the festival, and managed all so admirably as to call forth my praises and acknowledgments.

The river Kishenganga flows from the north towards the south.¹⁰⁰ The river Behat, flowing from the east, falls into the Kishenganga, taking a northerly course.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ *The text says the contrary.*

¹⁰¹ *It takes a slight turn to the north before joining the Kishenganga; but after the junction, they flow together towards the south. (End of Sir H. M. Elliot's translation).*

FIFTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The *Nau-roz* of the fifteenth year of my reign fell on the 15th Rabi'u-s Sani, 1029 H. (10th March, 1620 A.D.).

KASHMIR

On Friday, the 27th, I rode out to see the fountain of Virnag, which is the source of the river Behat. I went five *kos* in a boat, and anchored near Manpur. This day I received very sad news from Kishtiwari. When Dilawar Khan, after the conquest of that country, returned to Court, he left Nasru-lla, an Arab, with several other officers, for the protection of the country. This man committed two faults of judgment. He oppressed the *zamindars*, and the people, and he foolishly complied with the wishes of his troops, who petitioned him for leave to come to Court, with the hope of obtaining the reward of their services. Consequently, as very few men were left with him, the *zamindars*, who had long nourished revenge against him in their hearts, and were always lying in wait for him, took advantage of the opportunity, and having assembled from all sides, burnt the bridge which was the only means of his receiving succour, and engaged openly in rebellion. Nasru-lla Khan, having taken refuge in the fort, maintained his position for two or three days with great difficulty. As there were no provisions in the fort, and the enemy had cut off the supply for water, he resolved to die with the few men he had with him, and he gave proofs of the most determined courage. Many of his men were slain, and many captured. When this news reached my ears, I appointed Jalal, son of Dilawar Khan, in whose forehead shone the marks of intelligence and worth, and who had shown much enterprise in the conquest of Kishtiwari, to extirpate the wretched rebels; and having conferred on him the rank of 1,000 and the command of 600 horse, ordered the retainers of his father, who were now enlisted among the special servants of the throne, together with part of the Kashmir army, a large body of *zamindars*, and some matchlockmen to reinforce

him. Raja Sang Ram, the *zamindar* of Jammu, was also ordered to attack with his force from the Jammu hills, and it was now hoped that the rebels would soon be punished.

CONQUEST OF KANGRA

On Monday, 5th Muharram, the joyful intelligence of the conquest of the fort of Kangra arrived... Kangra is an ancient fort, situated in the hills north of Lahore, and has been renowned for its strength and security from the days of its foundation. The *zamindars* of the Panjab believe that this fort has never passed into the possession of another tribe, and that no stranger's hand has ever prevailed against it; but God knows! Since the day that the sword of Islam and the glory of the Muhammadan religion has reigned in Hindustan, not one of the mighty Sultans had been able to reduce this fort. Sultan Firoz Shah, a monarch of great power, besieged it for a long time; but he found that the place was so strong and secure, that it was impossible to reduce it so long as the garrison had provisions... When this humble individual ascended the throne, the capture of this fort was the first of all his designs. He sent Murtaza Khan, governor of the Panjab, against it with a large force, but Murtaza died before its reduction was accomplished. Chaupar Mal, son of Raja Basu, was afterwards sent against it; but that traitor rebelled, his army was broken up, and the fall of the fortress was deferred. Not long after, the traitor was made prisoner, and was executed and went to hell, as has been recorded in the proper place. Prince Khurram was afterwards sent against it with a strong force, and many nobles were directed to support him. In the month of Shawwal, 1029 H., his forces invested the place, the trenches were portioned out, and the ingress of provisions was completely stopped. In time the fortress was in difficulty, no corn or food remained in the place, but for four months longer the men lived upon dry fodder, and similar things which they boiled and ate; but when death stared them in the face, and no hope of deliverance re-

mained, the place surrendered on Monday, Muharram 1, 1031.

SAFFRON¹⁰²

As the saffron was in blossom, His Majesty left the city to go to Pampur,¹⁰³ which is the only place in Kashmir where it flourishes. Every parterre, every field, was, as far as the eye could reach, covered with flowers. The stem inclines towards the ground. The flower has five petals of a violet colour, and three stigmas producing saffron are found within it, and that is the purest saffron. In an ordinary year, 400 *maunds*, or 3,200 Khurasani *maunds*, are produced. Half belongs to the Government, half to the cultivators, and a *sir* sells for ten rupees;¹⁰⁴ but the price sometimes varies a little. It is the established custom to weigh the flowers, and give them to the manufacturers, who take them home and extract the saffron from them, and upon giving the extract, which amounts to about one-fourth weight of the flower, to the public officers, they receive in return an equal weight of salt, in lieu of money wages; for salt is not produced in Kashmir, and even in the beauty of the inhabitants there is but very little *i.e.* they have but little expression.¹⁰⁵ They import salt from Hindustan....

¹⁰² See *supra* p. 58.

¹⁰³ This place still maintains its reputation. Von Hugel tells us that saffron is produced almost exclusively in the district of Pampur, on the right bank of the Jhelam, from three distinct varieties of *crocus*; the root of one sort continues productive for fifteen years; of another, for eight, of the third, for five.—*Kaschmir*, vol. ii, p. 275.

¹⁰⁴ Pereira states that one grain of good saffron contains the stigmata and styles of nine flowers; hence 4,320 flowers are required to yield one ounce of saffron.

¹⁰⁵ Malabat is the word, and a double meaning is intended. Malabat not only means saltiness as well as expression, but a dark complexion in opposition to Lababat, "fairness." These meanings are not in the dictionaries, though there is some approach to them in Freytag. Nevertheless, they are of common application.

The next day the fortunate camp was pitched at Rajaur. The people of Rajaur were originally Hindus. Sultan Firoz converted them. Nevertheless, their chiefs are still styled Rajas. Practices which prevailed during the times of their ignorance are still observed amongst them. Thus, wives immolate themselves alive on the funeral pyres of their husbands, and bury themselves alive in their graves. It was reported that, only a few days ago, a girl of twelve years old had buried herself with her husband. Indigent parents strangle their female offspring immediately after birth. They associate and intermarry with Hindus—giving and taking daughters. As for taking, it does not so much matter ; but, as for giving their own daughters—heaven protect us ! Orders were issued prohibiting these practices for the future, and punishments enjoined for their infraction.

SHAH JAHAN SENT TO THE DAKHIN

In these happy days, when I was enjoying myself in hunting and travelling in Kashmir, successive despatches arrived from the Dakhin. When the royal court left the capital, evil-disposed men in the Dakhin, failing in duty and loyalty, raised the standard of rebellion. They got many of the dependencies of Ahmadangar and Birar into their power, and the despatches related how they were maintaining themselves by plunder and devastation, and were burning and destroying ships and provender. On the former occasion when I marched with the Imperial army to effect the conquest of the Dakhin, Khurram, who commanded the advance, arrived at Burhanpur. The insurgents, with that craft which distinguishes them, made him their intercessor, and abandoned the Imperial territory. They presented large offerings of money and valuables as tribute, and engaged to remain quiet and loyal. At the instance of Khurram, I remained for some days in the palace of Shadiabad at Mandu, and consented to forgive their misdeeds. Now that they had once more thrown off their allegiance, it was my wish to send the Imperial army again under the command

of Khurram, to inflict upon them the punishment they deserved, and to make them an example and warning for others. But he was engaged in the siege of Kangra, and many experienced officers were with him on that service, so that for some days I could not determine what to do.

Letters arrived one after the other, reporting that the insurgents having gathered strength, numbered nearly 60,000 horse, and had occupied many parts of the Imperial dominions. The forces which had been left in occupation had taken the field, and for three months had been operating against the rebels, over whom they had obtained several advantages. But the rebels employed themselves in plundering and laying waste the country about the Imperial forces, and there was no road left open for the supply of provisions, so great want arose. Suddenly they descended from the Balaghat, and stopped at Balapur. Emboldened by their impunity, they meditated a raid round Balapur. The Imperial forces numbered 6,000 or 7,000 horse, and in some fighting which occurred, they lost their baggage. Many were killed or taken, and the rebels returned unmolested and plundering to their quarters. Gathering forces from all sides, the rebels advanced fighting as far as Azdu. Nearly 1,000 men fell on both sides. They stayed at Balapur three months. The scarcity in the royal camp became very great, and many of the men fled and joined the rebels. The Royal force retreated to Burhanpur, and was followed and besieged there by the rebels. They remained for six months round Burhanpur, and took possession of several districts in Birar and Khandesh, where they by force exacted contributions from the people. The royal forces suffered great hardships and privations, and being unable to endure longer, they came out of the city (?). This increased the insolence and pride of the rebels. By the favour of God, Kangra had fallen, and so on Friday, the 4th De, I sent Khurram to the Dakhin, and I conferred upon him ten *krors* of *dams*, to be collected from the country after its conquest...I now turned back on my return to the capital.

SIXTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The *Nau-roz* of my sixteenth year fell on the 27th Rabi'us-sani, 1030 H. (10th March, 1621 A.D.).

FALL OF A METEORIC STONE

One of the most surprising events of the time is the following : On the morning of the 30th Farwardin of the present year, a very loud and dreadful noise arose from the east, in one of the villages of the *pargana* of Jalandhar, and almost frightened the inhabitants to death. In the midst of the noise a light fell on the earth from the sky, and the people thought that fire was going to fall. After a moment, when the noise had subsided, and the people, who were much confounded and alarmed, had come to their senses, they sent a runner to Muhammad Sa'id, the '*Amil* of the *pargana*, and informed him of the phenomenon. The '*Amil* immediately rode to the village, and saw the place with his own eyes. The land for about ten or twelve years in length and breadth was so burnt that not a blade of grass or herbage was found there. The ground was yet warm. He ordered it to be dug, and the deeper it was dug, the warmer it was found. At last a piece of iron appeared, which was as hot as if it had been just taken out of a furnace. After some time it became cool. He took it to his residence, and having put it into a bag and sealed it up, he sent it to me. It was weighed in my presence, and found to weigh 160 *tolas*. I ordered Ustad Daud to make a sword, a dagger, and a knife from it, and to bring them to me ; but he represented that it would not bear hammering, but would break into pieces. I ordered that if that was the case it should be mixed with other iron. Accordingly three parts of the meteoric iron were mixed with one part of common iron, and two swords, one knife, and one dagger, were made and presented to me. The watering was made on them with the other kind of iron. The sword bent like the genuine *Almasi* swords or those of the Dakhin, and again became perfectly straight. I ordered

them to be tried before me, and they cut exceedingly well, equal to the best tempered swords.

WAR IN THE DAKHIN

On the 4th Khurdad, letters arrived from Khurram. When the Imperial forces reached Ujjain, a letter arrived from the force which held Mandu, with the information that a rebel force had boldly crossed the Nerbadda, had burnt several villages in sight of the fort, and was engaged in plundering. The commander-in-chief sent forward Khwaja Abu-l Hasan, at the head of 5,000 horse, to march rapidly and inflict punishment on the rebels. The Khwaja arrived at daybreak on the banks of the Nerbadda, but they had got information of his approach, and had crossed over just before he came. The royal forces perused them for nearly four *kos*, and put many of them to the sword. The rebels retreated to Burhanpur. Khurram then wrote to the Khwaja, directing him to remain on that side of the river until he himself arrived. Shortly afterwards Khurram joined the advanced force, and they marched rapidly to Burhanpur. On their approach the rebels took to flight, and removed to a distance from Burhanpur. For two years the royal forces had been shut up in Burhanpur, and had suffered greatly from want of food and supplies. They were greatly in want of horses. The army remained there nine days to refit, and during that time thirty *lacs* of rupees and many coats were distributed among the Imperial soldiers. They had no sooner begun to move, than the rebels, unable to make any resistance, fled. The royal forces pursued, and put many of them to the sword. Thus giving them no time for repose, they drove them to Khirki, which was the abode of Nizamu-l Mulk and other rebels. But before the royal army arrived, the rebels carried off Nizamu-l Mulk with all his family and dependants to the fortress of Daulatabad. Some of their men were scattered about the country.

The royal forces stayed three days at Khirki, and so destroyed that town, which had taken twenty years to build

that it will hardly recover its splendour for the next twenty years. Having destroyed this place, it was determined to march to Ahmadnagar, which was besieged by a rebel force, and after driving off the besiegers, and revictualling and reinforcing the place, to return. With this determination they marched to Pattan. The rebel now resorted to artifice, and sent envoys and nobles to express his repentance and ask forgiveness. He promised ever afterwards to remain loyal, and not to depart from the old arrangement, and also to send his tribute and a sum as an indemnity to the Imperial Court. It happened that just at this time there was a great want of provisions in the royal camp, and the news arrived that the rebels, who were laying siege to Ahmadnagar, being frightened at the approach of the royal army, had moved off to a distance. So a reinforcement and some cash to supply his needs were sent to Khanjar Khan (the commandant). Having made every necessary provision, the royal army set out on its return. After much entreaty on the part of the rebel, it was settled that, besides the territory which was formerly held by the Imperial officers, a space of fourteen *kos* beyond should be relinquished, and a sum of fifty *lacs* of rupees should be sent to the Imperial treasury.

ILLNESS OF JAHANGIR

I have before mentioned that on the day of the *Dasahra*, when I was in Kashmir, I was seized with a catching and shortness of breath. This was charged entirely to the moisture of the atmosphere. In the air-passages on my left side near the heart, an oppression and catching was felt. It gradually increased and became fixed... A course of warm medicine gave me a little relief; but when I crossed the mountains, the violence of the malady increased. On the present occasion I took goat's milk for several days, and I bethought me of the camel's milk (I had formerly taken), but neither of them did me any good. (*Treatment by various doctors*). In despair of obtaining any relief from medicine,

I gave up all doctoring, and threw myself upon the mercy of the Universal Physician. As I found relief in drinking, contrary to my habit, I resorted to it in the daytime, and by degrees I carried it to excess. When the weather became hot, the evil effects of this became apparent, and my weakness and suffering increased. Nur Jahan Begam, whose sense and experience exceeded that of the physicians, in her kindness and devotion, exerted herself to reduce the quantity of my potations, and to provide me with suitable and soothing preparations. Although I had before discarded the doctors, and their advice, I now had faith in her attention. She gradually reduced the quantity of wine I took, and guarded me against unsuitable food and improper things. My hope is, that the True Physician will give me a perfect cure...

When intelligence of my illness reached my son Parwez, he did not wait for a summons, but set off instantly to see me, and on the 14th of the month, that kind and dutiful son came into my presence. I seated him on the throne near me, and although I adjured him and forbade him, he burst into tears, and showed the deepest concern. I took his hand, drew him to my side, and pressed him affectionately to my bosom. I showed him every attention and kindness, and I hope that his life and prosperity may be prolonged.

JOURNEY TO KANGRA

The extreme heat of Agra was uncongenial to my constitution, so on the 12th Aban, in the sixteenth year of my reign, I started for the mountain country on the north, intending, if the climate proved suitable, to build a town somewhere on the banks of the Ganges, to which I might resort in the hot weather. If I could not find a place that suited me, I intended to proceed further towards Kashmir... On the 7th De, I arrived at Hardwar on the Ganges, and there halted; but as the climate of the skirts of the mountains was not pleasant, and I found no place appropriate for a

residence, I resolved to proceed further to the mountains of Jammu and Kangra... On the 14th, I arrived at the village of Bahlun, a dependency of Siba, and as I had a great desire for the air of Kangra, I left my great camp at this place, and proceeded onwards with a few special attendants and servants towards the fortress.

I'timadu-d daula was ill, so I left him behind with the camp under the charge of Sadik Khan *Mir-bakshi*. On the following day intelligence was brought that a change for the worse had come over the Khan, and the signs of dissolution were manifest. Moved by the distress of Nur Jahan Begam, and by the affection I had for him, I could proceed no further, so I returned to the camp. At the close of the day I went to see him. He was at times insensible, and Nur Jahan, who was by my side, made signs and asked if I perceived (his critical state). I stayed by his pillow two hours. Whenever he came to his senses, his words were intelligible and sensible. On the 17th of the month he died, and I felt inexpressible sorrow at the loss of such an able and faithful minister, and so wise and kind a friend.

After this I went on towards Kangra, and after four days' march encamped on the river Ban-ganga... On the 24th of the month I went to pay a visit to the fortress, and I gave orders that the *kazi*, the Chief Justice, and others learned in the law of Islam, should accompany me, and perform the ceremonies required by our religion. After passing over about half a *kos* we mounted to the fort, and then by the grace of God prayers were said, the *khutba* was read, a cow was killed, and other things were done, such as had never been done before from the foundation of the fort to the present time. All this was done in my presence, and I bowed myself in thanks to the Almighty for this great conquest which no previous monarch had been able to accomplish. I ordered a large mosque to be built in the Fortress.

A letter from Khurram informed me that Khusru had died of colic.

SEVENTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The *Nau-roz* of the seventeenth year of my reign fell on Jumada-l awwal, 1031 (March, 1622).

A despatch arrived from the son of Khan Jahan, reporting that Shah 'Abbas, King of Persia, had laid siege to the fort of Kandahar with the forces of 'Irak and Khurasan. I gave orders for calling troops from Kashmir, and Khwaja Abu-l Hasan *Diwan* and Sadik Khan *Bakshi* were sent on in advance of me to Lahore, to organize the forces as the princes brought them up from Dakhin, Gujarat, Bengal, and Bihar, and as the nobles came from their *jagirs* and assembled, and then to send them on in succession to the son of Khan Jahan at Multan. Artillery, mortars, elephants, treasure, arms, and equipments were also to be sent on thither... For such an army 100,000 bullocks or more would be needed...

Zainu-l 'Abidin, whom I had sent to summon Khurram, returned and reported that the Prince would come after he had passed the rainy season in the fort of Mandu. When I read and understood the contents of the Prince's letter, I was not at all pleased, or rather I was displeased. I consequently wrote a *farman* to the effect, that as it was his intention to wait till after the rains, he was to send me the great *amirs* and officers, I had placed under his command, especially the Saiyids of Barha and Bokhara, the Shaikhzadas, the Afghans, and Rajputs.

REBELLION OF SHAH JAHAN

Intelligence was brought that Khurram had seized upon some of the *jagirs* of Nur Jahan Begam and Prince Shahriyar. He had fought with Ashrafu-l Mulk, an officer of Shahriyar's, who had been appointed *faujdar* of Dholpur and the country round, and several men had been killed on both sides. I had been offended by his delaying at the fort of Mandu, and by his improper and foolish statements in his letters, and I had perceived by his insolence that his mind was estranged. Upon hearing of this further intelli-

gence, I saw that, notwithstanding all the favour and kindness I had shown him, his mind was perverted. I accordingly sent Raja Roz-afzun, one of my oldest servants to inquire into the reasons of this boldness and presumption. I also sent him a *farman*, directing him to attend to his own affairs, and not to depart from the strict line of duty. He was to be content with the *jagirs* that had been bestowed upon him from the Imperial Exchequer. I warned him not to come to me but to send all the troops which had been required from him for the campaign against Kandahar. If he acted contrary to my commands, he would afterwards have to repent... When Khurram's son was ill, I made a vow that, if God would spare his life, I would never shoot an animal again with my own hand. For all my love of shooting, I kept my vow for five years to the present time; but now that I was offended with Khurram, I resolved to go out shooting again.

On the 24th I crossed the Jhelam. On the same day Afzal Khan, *diwan* of Khurram, arrived with a letter, in which Khurram endeavoured to make excuses for his undutiful actions. He hoped also that by Afzal Khan's persuasion and plausibility he might obtain forgiveness; but I took no notice of him, and showed him no favour.

Letters arrived from I'tibar Khan and other of my officers whom I had left at Agra, stating that Khurram persisted in his perverse course, and preferring the way of disobedience to the path of duty, had taken a decided step in the road to perdition by marching upon Agra. For this reason, said I'tibar, I have not deemed it advisable to send on the treasure, but have busied myself in making preparation for a siege. A letter from Asaf Khan also arrived, stating that this ungrateful son had torn away the veil of decency, and had broken into open rebellion; that he (the Khan) had received no certain intelligence of this movements, so, not considering it expedient to move the treasure, he had set out alone to join me.

On receiving this intelligence, I crossed the river at

Sultanpur, and marched to inflict punishment on this ill-started son (*siyah-bakht*). I issued an order that from this time forth he should be called "Wretch" (*bedaulat*).¹⁰⁶

On the 1st Isfandarmuz, I received a letter from I'tibar Khan, informing me that the rebel had advanced with all speed to the neighbourhood of Agra, my capital, in the hope of getting possession of it before it could be put in a state of preparation. On reaching Fathpur, he found that his hope was vain, so he remained there. He was accompanied by Khan-khanan (Mirza Khan) and his son ; and by many other *amirs* who held office in the Dakhin and in Gujarat, and had now entered upon the path of rebellion and perfidy... The rebels took nine *lacs* of rupees from the house of Lashkar Khan, and everywhere they seized upon whatever they found serviceable in the possession of my adherents. Khan-khanan, who had held the exalted dignity of being my tutor, had now turned rebel, and in the seventieth year of his age had blackened his face with ingratitude. But he was by nature a rebel and traitor. His father, at the close of his days, had acted in the same shameful way towards my revered father. He had but followed the course of his father, and disgraced himself in his old age—

"The wolf's whelp will grow a wolf,
E'en though with man himself."

After I had passed through Sirhind, troops came flocking in from all directions, and by the time I reached Dehli, such an army had assembled, that the whole country was covered with men as far as the eye could reach. Upon being informed that the rebel had advanced from Fathpur, I marched to Dehli.

In this war I appointed Mahabat Khan comander-in-chief of the army, and 'Abdu-lla Khan to the command of the advanced force of chosen and experienced troops. His business was to go on a *kos* in advance, to collect in-

¹⁰⁶ Here follows the passage quoted on p. 33 *supra*.

formation, and take possession of the roads. I forgot that he was an old companion of the rebel ; but the result was that he communicated information about my army to the rebel.

EIGHTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The eighteenth year of my reign commenced on 20th Jumada-l awwal, 1032 H. (10th March, 1623). On this day intelligence was brought that the rebel had advanced near to Mathura, and had encamped in the *pargana* of Shahpur... The next intelligence was that he had deviated from the direct course, and had gone twenty *kos* to the left. Sundar Rai, who was the leader in this rebellion, Darab, son of Khan-khanan, and many other *amirs*, had been sent on with the army against me. The command was nominally held by Darab, but Sundar was the real commander, and the prop of the revolt. They encamped near Biluchpur. I sent forward 25,000 horse under Asaf Khan, and he was opposed by Kasim Khan and others... The Almighty has at all times and in all places been gracious unto me ; so when 'Abdu-lla Khan went over to the enemy with 10,000 men under his command, and a great disaster menaced my army, a bullet directed by fate killed Sundar, and his fall made the rebels waver. Khawaja Abu-l Hasan drove back the force opposed to him, Asaf Khan also brought up his division opportunely, and we achieved a great victory...

When the rebel passed near Amber,¹⁰⁷ the birth-place and abode of Raja Man Singh, he sent a party of men to plunder it, and lay it waste... I also learnt that he had sent Jagat Singh, son of Raja Basu, to stir up disturbances in his native land in the Punjab...

On the 25th Urdibihisht, I appointed my son Shah Parwez to the command of the army operating against the rebel. He was to have the supreme command, but Mu'tamad-u-d daula al Kahira Mahabat Khan was charged with

¹⁰⁷ *In the province of Ajmir.*

the general direction of the army. Khan-i a'lam, Maharaja Gaj Singh, Fazil Khan, Rashid Khan, Raja Giridhar, Raja Ram Das, and others were also sent with him. The force consisted of 40,000 horse, with suitable artillery, and twenty *lacs* of rupees were assigned to it... On the 30th, agreeing with 19th Rajab, 1034, I encamped by the tank of Ana-sagar, within sight of Ajmir.

When the Prince's army passed over the mountains of Chanda, and entered Malwa, Shah Jahan came out of the fort of Mandu with 20,000 horse, 600 elephants, and powerful artillery, with the intention of giving battle... Mahabat Khan opened communications with several persons, who, through apprehension or compulsion, had joined the army of the rebel, and they, perceiving that his case was hopeless, wrote to Mahabat, asking for assurances of safety. Shah Jahan, not daring to risk a general action, and thinking always of his retreat, sent his elephants over the Nerbadda. He then sent his forces against the royal army near the village of Kaliya; but he himself, with Khan-khanan and several others, remained a *kos* in the rear. Barkandaz Khan, who had been in correspondence with Mahabat, and had received his promise, when the opposing armies approached each other, seized the opportunity of coming over to the royal army with the body of matchlockmen that he commanded. Rustam also, one of the chief and most trusted officers of the rebel, received assurances from Mahabat, and came over with several other officers. When Shah Jahan heard of this, he gave up resistance, and, being unable to place reliance upon any one, he determined to fly. With his forces in disorder, he crossed the Nerbadda, and several of his followers took advantage of the confusion to join the royal army.

Shah Jahan, having crossed the Nerbadda, kept all the boats on his side, and placed strong guards over the fords. Leaving Bairam Beg *Bakshshi* with a force of his most trusty soldiers and men of the Dakhin, and with the artillery drawn up by the river, he himself went off towards

the fort of Asir and Burhanpur. At this time his men caught a messenger whom Khan-khanan had sent to Mahabat Khan. He sent for the Khan, and showed him the letter taken from the messenger. Khan-khanan endeavoured to excuse himself, but could not give a satisfactory answer. An order was accordingly given that he and Darab and his other sons should be kept under arrest.

Rustam Khan, Muhammad Murad, and several others who had abandoned the service of the rebel, and had paid their respects to my dutiful son, according to my orders were sent to my Court, and were received by me. Rustam Khan received a *mansab* of 5,000, and 4,000 horse. Muhammad Murad a *mansab* of 1,000, and 500 horse, and prospects of future promotion were held out to them.

When the rebel Shah Jahan reached Asir, he placed Khan-khanan, Darab, and all his other children in confinement in the upper part of the fortress. He remained three or four days, attending to the victualling and preparation of the fortress, which he placed under the command of Gopal Das, a Rajput... When he departed, he left some of his women and superfluous things there in charge of Gopal; but he took with him his three wives, his children, and such maids as were necessary. His first intention was to leave Khan-khanan and his children prisoners there; but he changed his mind, and carried them with him to Burhanpur... Mahabat Khan was very desirous to separate Khan-khanan from the rebel, and thus to promote a peace. Shah Jahan also, in the strait he then was, took Khan-khanan out of confinement, and bound him by oath upon the Kuran to be faithful. To give force to the oath and agreement, he took him into his female apartments, and giving him the privileges of a near relation, presented to him his wives and children, and, with tears and great earnestness, said, "In case of evil falling upon me, I trust myself and the honour of my family to you; something must be done, that I may proceed no further in this wretched and miserable course."

Khan-khanan separated from him, intent upon peace, and proceeded towards the Imperial army. It was arranged that he should stay on that side of the river to carry on the negotiations for peace. But before he reached the bank of the river, some dashing young men of the royal army one night found a place which the rebels had left unguarded, and passed over the river. This caused some dismay, but Bairam Beg gallantly resolved to contest the passage. While he was getting his forces together some retreated. Khan-khanan was left in a difficult position, he did not know whether to advance or retreat. But the men of my son's army continually pressed forward, and Khan-khanan was relieved from the trammels of rebellion, and was presented by Mahabat Khan to my son.

Shah Jahan, when he heard of the defection of Khan-khanan, the passage of the river by the Imperial troops, and the retreat of Bairam Beg, fell back. Notwithstanding heavy rain and inundations, he crossed the river Mati in a wretched state, and went off towards the Dakhin. In the confusion many officers, who willingly or unwillingly had joined him, now separated from him.

On the 9th Aban, Khawas Khan brought a despatch from Prince Parwez and Mahabat Khan, informing me that they had reached Burhanpur, but that many men had fallen in the rear in consequence of the violence of the rain. But acting in obedience to orders, they had taken no rest, and had pressed on in pursuit of the rebel across the river (Tapti). The fugitives, on hearing of their arrival, continued their flight in disorder, and lost many of their animals through the heavy rain, and the mud and mire. The royal forces then continued the pursuit to the *pargana* of Ankot, forty *kos* from Burhanpur... The rebel then went to the territories of Kutbu-l Mulk. When my son Parwez found that the rebel had quitted my dominions, he and Mahabat and all the *amirs* returned to Burhanpur on the 1st Aban.

Intelligence arrived that Shah Jahan, with Darab and other fugitives, had passed out of the territory of Kut-bu-l

Mulk, and was making for Orissa and Bengal. On the way they had to endure great hardships, and many of the rebel's companions abandoned him when they found opportunity... After performing a long march, Shah Jahan arrived at Machhli (Masulipatam), which belonged to Kutbu-l Mulk. When his arrival there became known, Kutbu-l Mulk sent one of his people to the fugitive, and gave him every kind of relief and assistance in money and provisions. He also directed his margrave to convoy the fugitive safely out of his dominions, and he further appointed grain dealers and *zamindars* to attend his camp, and supply it with corn and other necessities...

NINETEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The *Nau-roz* of my nineteenth year corresponded with 29th Jumada-l awwal, 1033 (10th March, 1624).

Intelligence next came that the rebel had reached the confines of Orissa. Upon which I issued a *farman* to Prince Parwez, Mahabat Khan, and the other nobles who had been sent to support them, with orders to provide, as far as possible, for the safety of that province, and to march towards Allahabad and Bihar... Upon the arrival of these orders, the Prince prepared to obey, and to march towards Allahabad, notwithstanding the violence of the rains. On the 6th Farwardin, he marched with the Imperial army from Burhanpur to Lal Bagh ; but Mahabat Khan remained at Burhanpur, awaiting the arrival of Mulla Muhammad Lari.

A despatch arrived from Ibrahim Beg Khan, with the information that Shah Jahan had entered the province of Orissa. The explanation of this was, that between Orissa and the Dakhin there is a difficult pass, on one side of which are mountains, on the other a marsh¹⁰⁸(?) and a river. In this place the ruler of Golkonda had built a fort, and had armed it with guns and muskets. It was impossible to pass this place without the consent of Kutbu-l Mulk ; but the

¹⁰⁸ *Chihla*.

escort which he had sent to conduct Shah Jahan had enabled the rebel to pass this fortress and to enter Orissa... On hearing of the rebel's approach, Salih, brother of the late Asaf Khan, who held the *jagir* of Burdwan, put the fort in a state of defence... Ibrahim Khan being frightened, took refuge in Akbar-nagar,¹⁰⁹ where he occupied himself in gathering forces and preparing for resistance.

¹⁰⁹ *Rajmahal—Stewart's, "Bengal", p. 186.*

TATIMMA-I WAKI'AT-I JAHANGIRI
OF
MUHAMMAD HADI

This work is the completion of the Memoirs noticed in the preceding article. The author is Muhammad Hadi, of whom mention has already been made. In his Preface, however, he omits the title of Kamwar Khan, which he gives himself in his other works. He tells us that he wrote when he was more than sixty years old, after transcribing the Memoirs of eighteen years with his own hand ; that after having completed this task, it occurred to him that the "thirsty wanderers in the desert of history" would be dissatisfied, like himself, at reaching to the end of the eighteenth year and finding the work incomplete ; and that, as he from his earliest youth had been much devoted to historical studies, he determined to complete the work to the close of Jahangir's reign, and to add an Introduction to the Memoirs, detailing the principal events of Jahangir's life previous to his accession to the throne, availing himself for this purpose of several trustworthy manuscripts. He has done this satisfactorily, but without adding anything to our previous knowledge ; for he copies his authorities almost verbatim, and especially the *Ikbāl-nama*, from which he has borrowed most largely. At the end of the Introduction, he tells us that he hoped some day to be able to write a brief history of the entire reign of Shah Jahan from beginning to end, and to append it to the history of Jahangir. He may be considered to have accomplished this task in the *Tarikh-i Chaghatai*.

The copies I have seen of this work are annexed to manuscripts of the authentic Memoirs, and perhaps the continuation is not to be found separate. (It is so annexed to the Memoirs in the MS. belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society).

The work, being a completion of the Memoirs, and appended to them, is taken out of its chronological order. Its exact date is not known, but the author's other work, the *Tarikh-i Chaghatai*, comes down to 1137 A.H. (A.D. 1724).

The Introduction is a brief narrative of the important events in the life of Jahangir prior to his accession, and is borrowed from Mirza Kamgar and other sources.

The body of the work is almost entirely a reproduction of the *Ikbal-nama*; but the Editor has translated a few passages which the author appears to have derived from another authority. The last Extract is taken from the short chapter at the end on the ministers of Jahangir; the translation of this is by an unknown contributor, but it has been greatly altered by Sir H. M. Elliot.

The Introduction comprises 28 pages, and the continuation of the Memoirs 88 pages of 17 lines each.

EXTRACTS

Nineteenth Year of the Reign

The New Year began on a day corresponding with 29th Jumada-l awwal, 1033 H. (10th March, 1624 A.D.).

When Sultan Parwez and Mahabat Khan arrived near Allahabad, 'Abdu-lla Khan raised the siege and returned to Jhaunsi. Darya Khan held the bank of the river in force, and had carried all the boats over to his own side; the passage of the Imperial army was thus delayed for some days. The Prince and Mahabat Khan encamped on the other side of the river. Darya Khan held the fords, but the *zamindars* of the neighbourhood showed their loyalty, and collected thirty boats¹¹⁰ from various parts, and guided the royal forces over at a spot some *kos* higher up. Darya Khan held his position to contest the passage until he heard that the royal army had crossed. He then knew that it was

¹¹⁰ The phrase here used for boats is *manzil-i kishti*, which seems to be of the same character as *zanjir-i-fil* and *katar-i-shutur*. Elsewhere the word *sarai* is used in connexion with ships.

no longer tenable, and fell back to Jaunpur. 'Abdu-lla Khan and Raja Bhim proceeded to Jaunpur, and counselled a movement to Benares; so Shah Jahan sent his females and attendants to Rohtas, and himself proceeded to Benares. He was joined by 'Abdu-lla Khan, Raja Bhim, and Darya Khan, and having arrived at Benares, passed over the Ganges, and halted on the river Tunus. Prince Parwez and Mahabat Khan, having arrived at Damdama,¹¹¹ they left Aka Muhammad Zaman Teherani there, while they passed over the Ganges with the intention of crossing over the Tunus. Shah Jahan, leaving Khan-dauran in charge of his position, crossed the Ganges, and confronted Muhammad Zaman, who fell back to Jhaunsi. Khan-dauran advanced in full confidence, and Muhammad Zaman hastened to meet him. A sharp action followed. Khan-dauran was defeated, and his soldiers abandoned him. Being left alone, he struggled and fought desperately in every direction until he was killed. His head was sent to Prince Parwez. Rustam Khan, an old servant of Shah Jahan's, now left him and joined Prince Parwez. He said it was a good thing that the traitor¹¹² (Khan-dauran) had been killed. Jahangir Kuli, son of Khan-i 'azam, who was present, said, "No one can call him rebel or traitor, a more devoted man cannot exist, for he served his master to the death, and what more could he do! even now his head is raised above all."

Shah Jahan took his departure from Bengal, and proceeded towards the Dakhin. Mukhlis Khan then went on the wings of haste to Price Parwez, to send him and his *amirs* on to the Dakhin... A despatch arrived from Asad Khan, the *Bakhshi* of the Dakhin, written at Burhanpur, to the effect that Ya'kub Khan Habshi, with 10,000 horse, had arrived at Malkapur, ten *kos* from the city, and that Surbuland Rai had gone out of the city with the intention of

¹¹¹ *damdama* means "a battery," but here it would rather appear to be a proper name.

¹¹² *haram-khur*.

attacking him. Upon this, strict injunctions were sent forbidding him to fight until reinforcements arrived.

At the beginning of 1034 A.H. Shah Jahan arrived in the Dakhin. Malik 'Ambar tendered him assistance, and sent a force under the command of Ya'kub Khan Habshi to Burhanpur to plunder. He communicated this movement to Shah Jahan, who proceeded in that direction, and pitched his camp at Dewalganw. The Prince then sent 'Abdu-lla Khan to join Ya'kub Khan, and lay siege to Burhanpur. He himself followed, and pitched his tent in the Lal Bagh, in the outskirts of the city. Rao Ratan, and other Imperial officers who were in the place, did their best to put it in a state of defence, and took every precaution to secure it. Shah Jahan ordered 'Abdu-lla to assail the town on one side, and Shah Kuli Khan on the other. The besieged, by dint of numbers and by hard fighting, held 'Abdu-lla in check; but Shah Kuli's division breached the walls, and made their way inside.

Sarbuland Rai then left a force to keep 'Abdu-lla Khan in check and hastened to attack Shah Kuli. Several of Shah Kuli Khan's men were scattered in the streets and bazars, but he, with the few around him, stood fast in the esplanade in front of the citadel. Several of them fell. He then entered the citadel, and closed the gates. Sarbuland Rai surrounded it, and Shah Kuli, being hard pressed, capitulated.

Shah Jahan then ordered a second attack to be made; but although great gallantry was exhibited, the assault failed, and several officers of distinction fell. He mounted his horse, and ordered a third assault. Great courage was again displayed, and many officers and men fell, but without success. Saiyid Ja'far received a slight wound in the neck from a bullet, but he was so frightened that he went away. His departure affected all the Dakhinis, who broke up and went away, followed by many men who were disheartened by failure.

Intelligence now arrived, that Prince Parwes and Mahabat Khan, with the Imperial army, had reached the

Nerbadda on their return, so Shah Jahan retired to the Balaghat. 'Abdu-lla Khan separated from him, and occupied the village (*mauza*) of Indore...

TWENTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN

When the raising the siege of Burhanpur was reported to the Emperor, he bestowed great favours on Sarbuland Rai. He gave him a *mansab* of 5,000 and the title of Ram Raj, than which there is no higher title in the Dakhin. When the siege was raised, Shah Jahan bent his course to the Dakhin, but he was seized with illness on the way. The error of his conduct now became apparent to him, and he felt that he must beg forgiveness of his father for his offences. So with this proper feeling he wrote a letter to his father, expressing his sorrow and repentance, and begging pardon for all faults past and present. His Majesty wrote an answer with his own hand, to the effect that if he would send his sons Dara Shukoh and Aurangzeb to Court, and would surrender Rohtas and the fortress of Asir, which were held by his adherents, full forgiveness should be given him, and the country of the Balaghat should be conferred upon him. Upon reading this, Shah Jahan deemed it his duty to conform to his father's wishes ; so, notwithstanding the love he had for his sons, he sent them to his father, with offerings of jewels, chased arms, elephants, etc., to the value of ten *lacs* of rupees. He wrote to Muzaffar Khan, directing him to surrender Rohtas to the person appointed by the Emperor, and then to come with Sultan Murad Bakhshi. He also wrote to Hayat Khan directions for surrendering Asir to the Imperial officers. Shah Jahan then proceeded to Nasik...

It was now reported to the Emperor that Mahabat Khan had married his daughter to Khwaja Barkhurdar, the eldest son of Nakshabandi. As this marriage had been contracted without the royal consent, the Emperor was greatly offended ; so he sent for the young man, and asked him why he had, contrary to rule, married the daughter of so great a noble. He was unable to give a satisfactory answer, so he was ordered to be beaten, and sent to prison...

The intelligence of Mahabat Khan's daring act having reached Shah Jahan, he was greatly incensed, and notwithstanding his bodily weakness and want of warlike munitions, he resolved to go to the assistance of his father, and inflict punishment for this presumptuous deed. On the 23rd Ramadan, 1035 A.H. (7th June, 1626 A.D.), he left Nasik with 1,000 horse, hoping to gather forces as he proceeded. On reaching Ajmir, Raja Kishan Singh, son of Raja Bhim, who accompanied him, died, and 500 horsemen of the Raja's broke up and went away, leaving only 500 men in the suite of Shah Jahan, and these were in great distress. Unable to carry out his original intention, he resolved to do the best he could under the circumstances, and to go to Thatta, and remain for a while in that obscure place. So he proceeded from Ajmir to Nagor, and from thence through Joudhpur and Jesalmir.

FROM THE MEMOIRS OF THE WAZIRS¹¹³

Mirza Ghiyas Beg was so charitably disposed, that no one ever left his door dissatisfied; but in the taking of bribes he certainly was most uncompromising and fearless. 'Ali Kuli Beg Istajlu, who was educated under the instructions of Shah Isma'il the Second, came and entered the service of the Emperor Akbar during the period of his stay at Lahore. He there married Mirza Ghiyas Beg's daughter, who was born in the city of Kandahar. This individual afterwards entered the service of Jahangir, who honoured him with the title of Sher-Afgan, gave him a *jagir* in Bengal, and directed him to proceed there. The close of his life and his killing of Kutbu-d din Khan has already been related in its proper place. After he had met with his reward, and proceeded to the desert of annihilation, by the orders of the King, the officers in Bengal sent the daughter of Mirza Ghiyas Beg, surnamed I'timadu d daula, to His Majesty, who, in the deepest affliction at the death of Kutbu-d din Khan, placed her on the establishment

¹¹³ This is borrowed with little alteration from the *Ikbāl-nama*, see post, p. 162.

of Rukiya Sultana, one of his father's wives, on which she continued for a long time without any employment. However, the days of misfortune drew to a close, and the stars of her good fortune commenced to shine, and to wake as from a deep sleep. The bride's chamber was prepared, the bride was decorated, and desire began to arise. Hope was happy. A key was found for closed doors, a restorative was found for broken hearts; and on a certain New Year's festival she attracted the love and affection of the King. She was soon made the favourite wife of His Majesty. In the first instance she received the title of *Nur Mahal*, "the Light of the Palace," and after some days *Nur Jahan Begam*, "the Queen, the Light of the World." All her relations were elevated to the highest offices in the State. I'timadu-d daula became Prime Minister, and her eldest brother, Abu-l Hasan, was appointed Master of the Ceremonies, under the title of I'timad Khan. The King and his relatives were deprived of all power; while the servants and eunuchs of I'timadu-d daula became Khans and Turkhans. The old servant called Dila Rani, who had nursed the favourite lady of the King, superseded Haji Koka in the appointment of superintendent of the female servants of the palace, and without her seal the Sadru-s Sadur would not pay their stipends. Nur Jahan managed the whole affairs of the realm, and honours of every description were at her disposal, and nothing was wanting to make her an absolute monarch but the reading of *khutba* in her name.

For some time she sat at the *jharoka*,¹¹⁴ and the nobles came to make their salutations and receive her commands. Coins were struck in her name, and the royal seal on *farmans* bore her signature. In short, by degrees she became, except in name, undisputed Sovereign of the Empire, and the King

¹¹⁴ Every morning the Mogul comes to a window, called the *jaruco*, which looks into the plain or open space before the palace gate, where he shows himself to the common people.—Sir T. Rowe. In Purchas this is called *jaruco*, in Churchill *jarruco*. It is a Hindi word *jharokha*, "a lattice."

himself became a tool in her hands. He used to say that Nur Jahan Begam has been selected, and is wise enough to conduct the matters of State, and that he wanted only a bottle of wine and piece of meat to keep himself merry.

Nur Jahan won golden opinions from all people. She was liberal and just to all who begged her support. She was an asylum for all sufferers, and helpless girls were married at the expense of her private purse. She must have portioned about 500 girls in her lifetime, and thousands were grateful for her generosity.

IKBAL-NAMA-I JAHANGIRI
OF
MU'TAMAD KHAN

THIS is a valuable history by Nawab Mu'tamad Khan, commonly known as Muhamed Sharif, who states of himself in one portion of his work that he was appointed to the office of paymaster, received a *mansab* of 1,000, and was presented with an elephant by the Emperor as an honorary gift.

The *Ikbāl-nama* is divided into three volumes or parts. The first contains the history of the Khakan dynasty, and includes the reigns of Babar and Humayun; the second contains the reign of Akbar; the third that of Jahangir. The first two parts are not common, but the third is to be found everywhere.

The third volume gives the entire reign of Jahangir, and the first nineteen years may be considered an abridgment of the Memoirs, which, as has been seen in the article on the Memoirs, Mu'tamad Khan was directed to continue and complete. In the present work he tells us that Jahangir ordered him also to write the *Ikbāl-nama*. As may be supposed, therefore, truth is often sacrificed to flattery. The work does not rank very high among the critics of the country, but there is no book more common than this third volume; and as the author held high offices during this reign, and took a part in many of its most important transactions, we cannot refuse to allow that the work is of considerable use.

It is most commonly known by the name of *Jahangir-nama*, and under this title is quoted by Dow as his authority for the transactions of this Emperor's reign. M. Anquetil also speaks of it as "Djehanguirnameh, ouvrage compose par Nabab Motamet Khan, General de la Cavalerie de Djehanguir, et le compagnon de ses Voyages."¹¹⁵ Upon this

¹¹⁵ *Zendavesta*, tom. i, p. cclxvii.

passage Marsden observes, "M. Anquetil's expressions imply that the Memoirs of Jahangir were not, in fact, composed by that monarch himself."¹¹⁶ But M. Anquetil's expressions by no means imply this, and we are here presented with another instance of the confusion which prevails respecting the true Memoirs of Jahangir.

This volume has been translated into Urdu prose by Mazhar 'Ali Khan Wila. There is a copy in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.¹¹⁷

The work is in the form of annals, like the authentic memoirs, and the *Ma-asir-i Jahangiri*. There are occasionally rubrics to the chief occurrences of each year, but so few as not to be worth transcribing. The volume begins with the accession, and closes with the death of the Emperor, the names of the royal family, the ministers, learned men, physicians, and poets of the reign.

The best copy known to me is in the possession of Mirza 'Ali Akbar, *tahsildar* of Damoh in the Sagar territory. It was transcribed in the year 1087 A.H. (1676 A.D.).

(The Third volume has been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. The following Extracts comprise some few matters not given in the memoirs, and the whole of the continuation from the nineteenth year of the reign. With three short exceptions, which needed great amendment, the whole translation is the work of the Editor).

EXTRACTS

First Year of the Reign

On the 9th Safar, the Emperor reached Lahore. Khusru was then placed upon an elephant, and conducted between the stakes on which his followers were impaled,¹¹⁸ so that he might see their punishment, and be warned to abandon his evil course.

¹¹⁶ *Numismata Orientalia*, p. 146.

¹¹⁷ *M. Garcin de Tassy, Hist. de la Litt. Hindoui et Hindoustani*, tom. i. p. 536.

¹¹⁸ *See supra* p. 55.

SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN

Death of Sher Afghan, husband of Nur Jahan

Intelligence came from Bengal that 'Ali Kuli Beg Istajlu, who had received the title of Sher Afghan, had killed Kutbu-d din Khan, and several Imperial officers who were in attendance upon him. 'Ali Kuli had been the table-attendant of Shah Isma'il, son of the late Shah Tahmasp Safawi. Upon the death of Shah Isma'il, he came by way of Kandahar to Hindustan, and at Multan he joined Khan-khanan who was then marching against Thatta. Khan-khanan of his own accord took him into the Imperial service, and during the campaign he displayed ability and courage, and performed good work. On returning victorious from the campaign, Khan-khanan reported his services, and obtained for him a suitable *mansab*. About that time the daughter of Mirza Ghiyas Beg was given to him in marriage. When the Emperor Akbar marched from Agra against the Dakhin, and Prince Salim, the heir-apparent, was sent against the Rana, 'Ali Kuli Beg was appointed to assist him. He rose in favour, and received the title of Sher-Afgan. Upon the accession of Jahangir, his *jagir* was confirmed, and he was sent to Bengal. It was afterwards reported that he was in-subordinate, and disposed to be rebellious. When Kutbu-d din was sent to Bengal, he was directed to look after Sher-Afgan : if he was found to be loyal and dutiful, he was to be maintained in his *jagir* ; but if not, he was to be sent to Court, or to be brought to punishment if he delayed to proceed thither. Kutbu-d din formed a bad opinion of his actions and way of life. When he was summoned to attend upon the viceroy, he made unreasonable excuses, and cherished evil designs. Kutbu-d din made a report upon his conduct to the Emperor, and the Imperial order was given for sending him to Court ; the viceroy was also directed to carry out the instructions he had received, and to bring Sher-Afgan to punishment if he manifested any disloyalty. On receiving this command, Kutbu-d din immediately proceeded to Burdwan, which was in the *jagir* of Sher Afgan. When

he approached, Sher-Afgan went forth with two attendants to meet him. Kutbu-d din's men then gathered round Sher-Afgan. The manner in which Kutbu-d din had come roused Sher-Afgan's suspicions, so he quietly asked what this kind of proceeding meant. Kutbu-d din forbade his men to come near, and having joined Sher-Afgan, engaged in conversation with him. Sher-Afgan felt convinced that there was a design against him, so he drew his sword, and before any one could interfere, he ran it into Kutbu-d din's belly, so that his bowels gushed out. Kutbu-d din pressed both hands to his belly, and called out with a loud voice not to let the assassin escape. Pir Khan Kashmiri, a brave officer, galloped against Sher-Afgan and struck him on the head with a sword, but Sher-Afgan returned it so fiercely that he killed his assailant at a blow. The other attendants now pressed forward in numbers, and despatched Sher-Afgan with their swords.

SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The Marriage of Jahangir with Nur Jahan

Among the great events that occurred during this interval was the Emperor Jahangir's demanding Nur Jahan Begam in marriage. This subject might be expanded into volumes, but we are necessarily confined to a limited space in thus describing the strange decrees of Fate. Mirza Ghiyas Beg, the son of Khwaja Muhammad Shariff, was a native of Teheran. Khwaja Muhammad was, first of all, the *wazir* of Muhammad Khan Taklu, governor of Khurasan. After the death of Muhammad Khan, he entered the service of the renowned King Tahmasp Safawi, and was entrusted with the wazirship of Yazd. The Khwaja had two sons, Aka Tahir and Mirza Ghiyas Beg. For his second son the Khwaja demanded in marriage the daughter of Mirza 'Alau-d din, who was the father of Aka Mulla. After the death of his father, Mirza Ghiyas Beg, with two sons and a daughter, travelled to Hindustan. On the road, as he was passing through Kandahar, by the blessing of God another daughter was born to him. In the city of Fathpur, he had the good

fortune to be presented to the Emperor Akbar. In a short time, owing to his devotion to the king's service, and his intelligence, Mirza Ghiyas Beg was raised to the office of *diwan* or superintendent of the household. He was considered exceedingly clever and skilful, both in writing and had a nice appreciation of the meaning of words; and he wrote *shikasta* in a bold and elegant style. His leisure moments were devoted to the study of poetry and style, and his generosity and beneficence to the poor was such that no one ever turned from his door disappointed. In taking bribes, however, he was very bold and daring. When His Highness the Emperor Akbar was staying at Lahore, 'Ali Kuli Beg Istajlu, who had been brought up under Shah Isma'il II., having come from the kingdom of 'Irak, became included among the number of the royal servants, and, as Fate ordered it, married that daughter of Mirza Ghiyas Beg who had been born in Kandahar. Afterwards, in the reign of Jahangir, he received a suitable *mansab*, and the title of Sher-Afgan was conferred on him. He next received a *jagir* in the province of Bengal, and departed thither to take possession. His murder of Kutbu-d din Khan and his own death have already been related. After the death of Kutbu-d din, the officials of Bengal, in obedience to royal command, sent to Court the daughter of Ghiyas Beg, who had been exalted to the title of 'Itimadu-d daula, and the King, who was greatly distressed at the murder of Kutbu-d din, entrusted her to the keeping of his own royal mother. There she remained some time without notice. Since, however, Fate had decreed that she should be the Queen of the World and the Princess of the Time,¹¹⁹ it happened that on the celebration of New Year's Day in the sixth year of the Emperor's reign, her appearance caught the King's far-seeing eye, and so captivated him that he included her amongst the inmates of his select harem. Day by day her influence and dignity increased. First of all she received the title of *Nur Mahal*, "Light of the Harem," but was after-

¹¹⁹ *This is but the cream of a long florid passage.*

wards distinguished by that of *Nur Jahan Begam*," "Light of the World." All her relations and connexions were raised to honour and wealth... No grant of lands was conferred upon any woman except under her seal. In addition to giving her the titles that other kings bestow, the Emperor granted Nur Jahan the rights of sovereignty and government. Sometimes she would sit in the balcony of her palace, while the nobles would present themselves, and listen to her dictates. Coin was struck in her name, with this superscription : "By order of the King Jahangir, gold has a hundred splendours added to it by receiving the impression of the name of Nur Jahan, the Queen Begam." On all *farmans* also receiving the Imperial signature, the name of "Nur Jahan, the Queen Begam," was jointly attached. At last her authority reached such a pass that the King was such only in name. Repeatedly he gave out that he had bestowed the sovereignty on Nur Jahan Begam, and would say, "I require nothing beyond a *sir* of wine and half a *sir* of meat." It is impossible to describe the beauty and wisdom of the Queen. In any matter that was presented to her, if a difficulty arose, she immediately solved it. Whoever threw himself upon her protection was preserved from tyranny and oppression ; and if ever she learnt that any orphan girl was destitute and friendless, she would bring about her marriage, and give her a wedding portion. It is probable that during her reign no less than 500 orphan girls were thus married and portioned.

ELEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

Pestilence

This year a pestilential disorder (*wada*) broke out in certain parts of Hindustan, and gradually increased until it raged with great fury. This dreadful calamity arose in the *parganas* of the Panjab. It reached Lahore, and a great number of Muhammadans and Hindus lost their lives from it. It then proceeded toward Sirhind, and through the Doab as far as Dehli and the surrounding places. It destroyed many villages and *parganas* in that part of the country. When it was about

to break out, a mouse would rush out of its hole as if mad, and striking itself against the door and the walls of the house, would expire. If, immediately after this signal, the occupants left the house and went away to the jungle, their lives were saved; if otherwise, the inhabitants of the whole village would be swept away by the hand of death. If any person touched the dead, or even the clothes of a dead man, he also could not survive the fatal contact. The effect of the epidemic was comparatively more severe upon the Hindus. In Lahore its ravages were so great, that in one house ten or even twenty persons would die, and their surviving neighbours, annoyed by the stench, would be compelled to desert their habitations. Houses full of the dead were left locked, and no person dared to go near them through fear of his life. It was also very severe in Kashmir, where its effect was so great that (as an instance) a *darwesh*, who had performed the last sad offices of washing the corps of a friend, the very next day shared the same fate. A cow, which had fed upon the grass on which the body of the man was washed, also died. The dogs, also, which ate the flesh of the cow, fell dead upon the spot. In Hindustan no place was free from this visitation, which continued to devastate the country for a space of eight years...

THIRTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

On the 16th of De, an hour and a quarter before the dawn of the day, there appeared in the atmosphere a vaporous matter in the shape of a column, and it was seen half an hour earlier every succeeding night. When it appeared in its full form, it resembled the shape of a javelin. It was thin at both ends, and thick and crooked in the middle like a sickle. Its back was towards the south, and its face towards the north. The astronomers measured its size by means of an astrolabe, and upon a comparison of different observations, it was found to extend over 24 degrees. It moved with the highest of the heavens, but had a proper motion of its own; so that it first appeared in the sign of Scorpio, and in a short time

left it, and entered that of Libra. It also had a southerly declination. Astrologers in their books mention such a phenomenon under the name of a javelin. Sixteen nights after its appearance a star was seen in the same direction, the head of which was luminous ; but its tail, which was two or three yards long, emitted no light. It was in consequence of its appearance that a pestilential disorder (*waba o ta'aun*) spread throughout this extensive country of Hindustan, which exceeded everything known and recorded in former ages, nor is there any mention made of such in the authentic works of the Hindus. The pestilence arose in the country one year before the appearance of the phenomenon, and continued to rage for eight years. It was also through the effects of this phenomenon that a misunderstanding arose between His Majesty and the fortunate Prince Shah Jahan. The disturbances which thus originated lasted seven or eight years. What blood was shed in the country ! and what families were ruined !

At this time it was learnt from the petition of Bahadur Khan, governor of Kandahar, that in the environs and dependencies of the city, the mice had increased to such an extent that they left no trace of either crops or fruits. With the greatest difficulty, perhaps, only one-fourth of the produce was saved to the cultivators. In the same manner, the fields of melons, and the produce of orchards and vineyards were totally destroyed ; and when no fruit and no corn remained in the gardens and in the fields, by degrees the mice all died off.

NINETEENTH YEAR OF JAHANGIR

Rebellion of Shah Jahan

The nineteenth year of the reign of Jahangir began. The intelligence of the march of Shah Jahan's¹²⁰ army towards Orissa and Bengal was confirmed. An order was sent to

¹²⁰ In this work he is called *Shahi*, '*Alishan Shahi*, *Shah-i giti-sitan*, etc.

Prince Parwez and Mahabat Khan, to make provision for the security of the Dakhin, and then to march towards Illahabas and Bihar ; so that if the governor of Bengal was unable to prevent the advance of the rebel Shah Jahan, the Prince might be there to oppose him with the Imperial army. The Emperor also sent Khan Jahan to the capital, to watch the turn of affairs, and to take such steps as might seem necessary.

Mahabat Khan sent an ambassador from Burhanpur to 'Adil Khan,... who wrote in reply that he would meet Mahabat Khan at Dewal-ganw, and would send his son to enter the Imperial service. The ambassador also wrote to say that 'Adil Khan was loyal, and had determined to send his minister, Mulla Muhammad Lari, to join Mahabat with 5,000 horse. In compliance with repeated *farmans*, the Prince marched for Bengal, notwithstanding the severity of the rains and the difficulties arising from the mud and mire of Malwa. Mahabat Kan, having sent forward the Prince, remained at Burhanpur, awaiting the arrival of Mulla Muhammad Lari.

Ahmad Beg Khan, nephew of Ibrahim Khan, and governor of Orissa, had gone forth against the *zamindars* of Garha. When he heard of Shah Jahan's arrival, he retreated in alarm to Pipali, the residence of the governor, and there collecting his property, he carried it with him to Katak (Cuttack), which is twelve *kos* from Pipali, in the direction of Bengal. But not feeling himself able to make a stand even there, he went off to Bardwan, and carried the news to Salih, nephew of Ja'far Beg... Salih received a letter from 'Abdu-lla Khan, which was written for the purpose of winning him over, but Salih rejected the proposition, and put Bardwan in a state of defence.

Ibrahim Khan, when he received the threatening intelligence, although he had forces scattered at different posts, fled to Akbar-nagar,¹²¹ and there collected men and munitions for the conflict. He now received a letter from Shah

¹²¹ A name given to Rajmahal.—Stewart's "Bengal", p. 186..

Jahan (*proposing an arrangement*); but he wrote in reply that... he would fight for his master to the death. When the Prince's army arrived at Bardwan, the short-sighted Salih put forth the foot of ignorance and folly,¹²² and made resistance. 'Abdu-lla Khan did not give him much grace, but invested the fort, and soon brought it to extremity. When Salih perceived that there was no hope of relief, he went out to see the Khan, who led him with a sash round his neck to the Prince. This obstacle being removed, the Prince marched on to Akbar-nagar. It was Ibrahim Khan's first intention to hold Akbar-nagar, but the fort was large, and his force was insufficient for its defence, so he retired to the tomb of his son, which was smaller and more secure. Here he was joined by forces from different stations.

Shah Jahan's army having arrived at Akbar-nagar, invested the tomb, and death began to be busy both within and without. Ahmad Beg Khan came, and found an entrance into the besieged place, which greatly inspirited the garrison. The wives and families of many of the besieged were on the other side of the river; so 'Abdu-lla Khan and Darya Khan Afghan crossed over, to commence operations on that side. This movement alarmed Ibrahim Khan, who hastened thither, taking with him Ahmed Khan Beg, leaving others in charge of his fortified post. He sent over before him some war-boats, called in Hindi *niwara*, to prevent the passage of the enemy. But before the boats arrived, Darya Khan had crossed over. On hearing this, Ibrahim Khan sent Ahmad Beg over the river against Darya Khan; but when he landed, a fight began on the banks of the river, and he lost many of his men; so he turned back and rejoined Ibrahim Khan, carrying with him the news of his defeat. Ibrahim sent to the fortress for a reinforcement. and a party of well-mounted horsemen came to his aid. On hearing of this, Darya Khan

¹²² This shows when the work was written. Muhammad Hadi follows this work very closely in his continuation of Jahangir's Memoirs; but he has cut out such expressions as this, and writes as a partisan of Jahangir.

retreated some *kos*, and 'Abdu-lla Khan, under the guidance of the landholders, crossed the river some *kos* higher up and joined him. The united force took up a position, with the river on one flank and a thick jungle on the other. Ibrahim Khan crossed over, and gave battle... The advanced force was defeated...disorder arose, and many fled. Ibrahim Khan, with a small party of followers, disdained to escape; and although some of his men seized his bridle, and tried to drag him out of the fight, he exclaimed, "My life does not need such a course; what can I do better than die on the field of battle?" He had scarcely uttered the words, when the enemy gathered round and despatched him.

The news of his fall discouraged the garrison, and the besiegers exploded a mine under the fortress. The storming party rushed in, and the place was carried... Some of the garrison cast themselves into the river, and others, who were fettered by their families being in the hands of the enemy, submitted to the victor. The children and the property of Ibrahim Khan were in Dacca, so the Prince's army proceeded thither by the river. Ahmad Beg, Ibrahim's nephew, arrived before them; but submission was the only course open to him, and he obtained grace through one of the Prince's attendants. The victors took possession of the property, nearly forty *lacs* of rupees in cash, besides various effects, and elephants.

Darab Khan had hitherto been kept in confinement, but he was now released; and after being bound by an oath, was made governor of Bengal; but his wife, a daughter, a son and a son of Shah Nawaz Khan, were kept (as hostages). Raja Bhim, son of Rana Karan, who had never left the Prince in any of his troubles, was sent forward in command of the advanced force towards Patna. The province of Patna was in the *jagir* of Prince Parwez, and it had been left in charge of Mukhlis Khan, the Prince's *diwan*, and of Iftikhar Khan and Sher Khan Afghan, his *faujdars*. But before even Raja Bhim arrived they were frightened; and giving up all hope of support, they did not even set the fort of Patna in

order, and wait a few days for the approach of the army; they abandoned the place, and made off to Illahabas, setting their own safety above the loss of such a country. So Raja Bhim entered the fort of Patna, and took possession of the province of Bihar without resistance.

A few days afterwards Prince Shah Jahan arrived there, and the *jagirdars* of the province waited upon him, and made their submission. Saiyid Mubarak made over to him the fort of Rohtas. The *zamindar* of Ujaina also came in and was received. Before advancing himself, Shah Jahan sent on 'Abdu-lla Khan with an army towards Allahabad, and Darya Khan Afghan with another force towards Oudh. A few days after, the Prince himself marched, leaving Bairam Beg in charge of Bihar. Before 'Abdu-lla Khan passed over the ford of Jausa,¹²³ Jahangir Kuli Khan, son of 'Azam Khan Mirza Koka, who held the government of Jaunpur, left that place and went to Mirza Rustam at Allahabad. 'Abdu-lla pursued him hotly, and came up to the town of Jhaunsi on the river Ganges, opposite Allahabad.¹²⁴ Shah Jahan then advanced to Jaunpur. The war boats (*niwara*) had been brought up from Bengal, and 'Abdu-lla now employed them in effecting a passage of the river under a fire of guns and muskets, and pitched his camp in Allahabad.

DAKHIN

We must now return to the affairs of the Dakhin. 'Ambar Habshi had sent his envoy 'Ali Sher to Mahabat Khan, to express his obedience and devotion, in the hope that the management of the Dakhin would be entrusted to him. He was at war with 'Adil Khan, and he hoped to obtain Imperial assistance, and so triumph over his enemy. On the other hand, 'Adil Khan in the same way hoped to get charge of the province, and so to repel the assaults of 'Ambar. In the end 'Adil Khan prevailed. Mahabat Khan rejected the proposals of 'Ambar and decided in favour of 'Adil Khan.

¹²³ *The Tatimma* says "Jaunapur."

¹²⁴ "Bhim rested at five kos from Allahabad."—*Tatimma*.

'Ambar was on the road, and Mulla Muhammed, the envoy of 'Adil Khan, was in dread of him; so Mahabat Khan sent a detachment from the Imperial army to the Balaghat, to escort him to Burhanpur. When 'Ambar was informed of this he turned back, vexed and disappointed, and proceeded with Nizamu-l Mulk from Khirki to Kandahar, on the borders of Golkonda. He sent his children with his wives and attendants to the fortress of Daulatabad, and left Khirki empty. He gave out that he was going to the frontier of Kutbu-l Mulk, in order to receive his fixed payment (*sar-i mukarrari*).

When Mulla Muhammad Lari approached Burhanpur, Mahabhat Khan went forth as far as Shahpur to meet him, and received him with great attention. Then they proceeded to wait upon Prince Parwez. Mahabat Khan left Sarbuland Rai in charge of Burhanpur, with Jadu Rai and Uda Ram Rai to support him; but he took with him the son of Jadu Rai and the brother Uda Ram by way of precaution. When Mulla Muhammad Lari had his interview with the Prince, it was arranged that he should go to Burhanpur with his 5,000 horse to assist Sarbuland Rai, and that his son Aminu-d din, with another 5,000 horse, should accompany the Prince...

A despatch arrived from Fazil Khan, the *bakhshi* of the army of the Dakhin, stating that Mulla Muhammad Lari had gone to Burhanpur, and the Imperial commanders felt that the Dakhin was secure. Prince Parwez and Mahabat Khan had therefore marched towards Bihar and Bengal. The commanders having considered the rebellious actions of Khan-khanan, and the fact of his son Darab being in the service of Shah Jahan, resolved that he should be kept under arrest. His tent was to be pitched near that of the Prince, and his daughter Jana Begam, who had been married to Prince Daniyal, and was an intelligent pupil of her father, was ordered to be detained in the same place with him, and constant guard was to be kept round their tent by trusty men...

DEFEAT OF SHAH JAHAN

On the 1st of Shahryur, while the Emperor was at Virnag in Kashmir, a despatch arrived from Mahabat Khan, reporting that Shah Jahan's generals held all the passages of the Ganges, and had seized upon all the boats. The Imperial army had consequently been delayed some days in crossing the river; but they had been assisted by the *zamindars*, thirty boats had been procured, and the army had crossed forty *kos* above the fords... The next intelligence was that a party of *zamindars* in the service of Shah Jahan had carried off all the war boats, with their guns and equipment, and had fled to Bengal. Shah Jahan was in the jungle of Kampat, where he had entrenched himself, and had mounted cannons and guns upon his earthworks. But the supply of provisions was small and scarcity had begun to prevail.

A courier now arrived by *dak chauki* from Prince Parwez, with a despatch announcing that he had gained a victory over Shah Jahan, who had gone off towards Patna and Bihar. The particulars of the engagement are as follows : The two armies were in sight of each other, and forming their array for several days. The royal army numbered 40,000 men, that of Shah Jahan did not exceed 10,000¹²⁵ horse, including old and new troops; and some of the most devoted were averse to fighting.¹²⁶ Raja Bhim, the son of the Rana, contrary to the opinions of all, was eager for war. He went so far as to say that if they did not fight, they must not reckon upon his support, for such marching and moving about was against the rules of the Rajputs. His voice prevailed, and the ranks were formed for battle. The guns were taken of the redoubts, and the battle began. The royal forces encompassed the field on three sides like

¹²⁵The *Tatimma* makes the number only 7,000.

¹²⁶According to the *Tatimma*, which varies a little here, 'Abdulla Khan advised an advance upon Dehli by way of Oudh and Lucknow, and failing in that, to fall back on the Dakhin.

a bow, and arrows and bullets fell like hail. Raja Bhim, unheeding the numbers of foes, charged bravely with his Rajputs...; but a chosen force which attended Prince Parwez and Mahabat Khan fell upon him and cut him down; still he fought fiercely as long as he could draw breath... The gunners abandoned their guns and fled, and the guns fell into the hands of the royal force... An arrow wounded the horse of Shah Jahan, and 'Abdulla, who was near him, seized his bridle, and led him out of the fight, when he exchanged his own for the Prince's wounded horse. Shah Jahan went to the fort of Rohtas,¹²⁷ and there stayed his flight...

AFFAIRS OF THE DAKHIN

Advices now arrived from the Dakhin. Malik 'Ambar proceeded to the frontiers of Kutbu-l Mulk, to receive the annual payment for the army, which was now two years in arrear. After receiving it, and making himself secure on that side by a treaty and oath, he proceeded towards Bidar. There he found the forces of 'Adil Khan, who were in charge of that country, unprepared, so he attacked them unawares, and plundered the city of Bidar. From thence he marched against Bijapur. 'Adil Khan had sent his best troops and officers along with Mulla Muhammad Lari to Burhanpur, and not deeming himself strong enough to resist the assailant, he shut himself up in the fortress of Bijapur, and doing all he could to secure the place, he sent a messenger to recall Muhammad Lari and his forces from Burhanpur...

When Mahabat Khan and Prince Parwez marched for Allahabad, Sarbuland Rai was left in charge of Burhanpur, and was ordered to administer the affairs of the Dakhin in concert with Mulla Muhammad Lari. The Mulla now became very pressing, and gave three *lacs* of *huns*, nearly equal to twelve *lacs* of rupees, for the payment of the troops. When the Mulla's letters of recall reached Mahabat Khan,

¹²⁷ *He reached there in four marches, and stayed only three days.—Tatimma.*

he acquiesced, and directed the officials in the Dakhin to hasten with the Mulla to support 'Adil Khan. Sarbuland Rai of necessity remained at Burhanpur with a few men ; but he sent Lashkar Khan, and... all the *amirs* of the Dakhin along with Muhammad Lari, to oppose Malik 'Ambar. When the Malik received information of this, he wrote to the Imperial officers, asserting his loyalty to the Imperial throne, and asking that Nizamu-l Mulk and 'Adil Khan might be allowed to settle their old standing differences without interference.¹²⁸ No attention was paid to this remonstrance by the *amirs*, who pressed steadily on. He renewed his appeal more earnestly than before ; but they displayed their forces, and he was compelled to depart from Bijapur, and go to his own territories. Upon the approach of the Imperial forces, 'Ambar endeavoured to conciliate and procrastinate, and spared no effort to avoid war. But Mulla Muhammad Lari and the Imperial *amirs* followed him, and allowed him no rest. The more submissive and importunate he became, the more Muhammad Lari tried to humble him, and the harder he pressed him.

He was reduced to extremity, and compelled to take some decided course. So one day, when the Imperial forces were heedless, and were impressed with the notion that he would not fight, suddenly he appeared on the edge of their camp, five *kos* from Ahmadnagar. The battle began with the forces of 'Adil Khan, and, by the will of Fate, Muhammad Lari, who commanded them, was killed. His fall threw the Bijapur forces into confusion. Jadu Rai and Uda Ram fled without striking a blow, and a perfect rout followed. Ikhlās Khan and twenty-five other officers of 'Adil Khan, who were the props of his power, were taken prisoners. Of these, Farhad Khan, who had sought the death of Malik 'Ambar, was executed ; the others were imprisoned. Lashkar Khan and some other chiefs of the Imperial army were also made

¹²⁸ *The text gives the letter in full, but this is the whole gist of it.*

prisoners. Khanijar Khan by great exertion escaped to Ahmadnagar, and prepared the fortress for a siege. Jansipar Khan went to Bir, which was in his *tuyul* (*jagir*), and set the fort in order. Of the rest who escaped from the field of carnage, some fled to Ahmadnagar, and some to Burhanpur.

Malik 'Ambar, successful beyond his hopes, sent his prisoners to the fortress of Daulatabad, and marched to lay siege to Ahmadnagar. But although he brought up his gun and pressed the siege, he met with no success. He therefore left a part of his army to maintain the investment, whilst he marched against Bijapur. 'Adil Khan again took refuge in the fortress, and Malik 'Ambar occupied all his territories as far as the frontiers of the Imperial dominions in the Balaghat. He collected an excellent army and laid siege to Sholapur, which had long been a subject of contention between Nizamu-l Mulk and 'Adil Khan. He sent a force against Burhanpur, and having brought up guns from Daulatabad, he took Sholapur by storm.

The intelligence of these reverses greatly troubled the Emperor. By advice of Mahabat Khan, he summoned Khana-zad Khan, son of Mahabat, from Kabul, and sent him with his army to join his father...¹²⁹ A despatch arrived from Mahabat Khan, informing the Emperor that Shah Jahan had quitted Patna and Bihar, and had gone to Bengal. Prince Parwez, with the Imperial army, was in Bihar awaiting instructions as to his future proceedings. It has already been related how Shah Jahan had made Darab, son of Khan-khanan, governor of Bengal, and having first bound him by an oath, had carried off his wife and son and nephew as hostages. After being defeated, Shah Jahan placed the wife in the fort of Rohtas, and wrote to Darab, ordering him to come in person to the fort. Darab improperly and perversely took another view of the matter,

¹²⁹ *The Emperor at this time arrived at Lahore from Kashmir.*
—Tatimma.

and wrote to say that he was unable to come, because the *zamindars* had banded together and held him in blockade. When Shah Jahan found that he must not expect the arrival of Darab, and that he had not forces sufficient to carry on the war, he placed Darab's son in charge of 'Abdu-lla Khan, and went to Akbar-nagar, where he took all the munitions and baggage which had been left there, and returned to the Dakhin by the way in which he had come. Darab Khan had disgraced himself to all eternity by his detestable conduct, so 'Abdu-lla Khan relieved his own mind by putting Darab's son to death; and this he did, although Shah Jahan had sent to forbid him.

Prince Parwez, having given Bihar in *jagir* to Mahabat Khan and his son, started on his return. He sent notices to the *zamindars* of Bengal, who held Darab in confinement, warning them not to hurt him, but to send him to the army. He soon arrived, and intelligence of his arrival having been communicated to the Emperor, he issued his mandate to Mahabat Khan, that there was no use in keeping such a worthless fellow alive, and that therefore he was to be beheaded, and his head sent to Court. So Mahabat Khan had him decapitated, and sent his head to the Emperor... Strict orders were sent to the Dakhin, forbidding warlike operations until the arrival of reinforcements, and commanding the troops to keep in the fortified places, and make them secure.

TWENTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The twentieth year of the reign commenced on the 10th Jamada-s sani, 1033 (10th March, 1624 A.D.), and the Emperor set out for Kashmir.

As it has been several times asserted, and is especially mentioned in the *Zakhira Khwarism Shahi*, that laughter arises from eating saffron,—and that if it is taken in large quantities, there is fear of death supervening,—His Majesty determined on making a trial of its effects, and therefore sent for a condemned criminal from the jail, and giving him a

quarer of a *sir* of saffron, equal to forty *miskals*, made him eat it in his presence. It did not occasion any change in him. On the next day, he gave him double the quantity, but it did not cause him even to smile, much less to laugh. How then can a man possibly die from eating saffron ?¹³⁰

Despatches from Asad Khan, *bakhshi* of the Dakhin, brought intelligence that Shah Jahan had arrived at Dewal-gam ; that Yusuf Habshi had invested Burhanpur with forces of Malik 'Ambar ; that Sarbuland Rai had kept close in his fortifications ; and that the besiegers had not been able to accomplish anything. The next intelligence was that Shah Jahan had reached the La'lbagh (before Burhanpur), and had made several assaults upon the place without success. He had been attacked by sickness, and was compelled to go away to Rohangarh in the Balaghat.¹³¹ The forces of Malik 'Ambar, finding their efforts unavailing, raised the siege, and returned to their master. Hoshang, son of Prince Daniyal, and 'Abdu-r Rahim Khan-khanan came in to wait upon Prince Parwez. The former was graciously received and liberally provided for. Khan-khanan expressed sorrow and shame for his actions, and the Prince consoled him, and directed that he should be kept in a suitable place.¹³²

Fidai Khan was sent to Prince Parwez, with orders for Mahabat Khan to leave him, and proceed to Bengal. Khan

¹³⁰ *Saffron, however, has an effect upon individuals endowed with excessive sensibility. Many aromatics exercise a peculiar influence. Violets have been known to occasion convulsions and apoplexy. See Triller, Dissert. de morte subita ex nimio violarum odore.*

¹³¹ *It was at this time that Shah Jahan begged and obtained forgiveness from his father—a fact which the author of this work has suppressed. See Extract from the Tatimma, supra, p. 151.*

¹³² *The Tatimma says that on the last day of Muharram, 1035, when the Emperor was at Lahore, he ordered two lacs of rupees to be sent to Khan-khanan.—MS. p. 860.*

Jahan¹³³ was to come from Gujarat, and to act as *vakil* with the Prince. Fidai Khan saw the Prince at Sarangpur, and wrote to say that the Prince was unwilling either to part with Mahabat Khan or to receive Khan-Jahan... He (Fidai) had, nevertheless, sent messengers for Khan Jahan, who was hastening to his post. Another *farman* was then sent to the Prince, warning him not to disobey. If Mahabat Khan was unwilling to go to Bengal, he was to return express to Court, and the Prince was to stay with his *amirs* at Burhanpur.

On the 19th Muharram, 1935, the Emperor started from Kashmir on his return to Lahore...

Prince Dewar Bakhsh presented a tiger, which had an extra-ordinary affection for a goat, which lived in the same cage with it. They used even to couple and consort together, as if they were animals of the same kind. It was ordered that the goat should be taken away to a distance and concealed; upon which the tiger became disconsolate and uneasy. It was then ordered that a goat of precisely the same colour and size should be placed in the cage. The tiger at first began to smell it, and shortly afterwards seized it in his mouth, and broke its back. A sheep was then placed in the cage, when it was immediately torn and devoured. They then brought the old goat back again, when it was received with undiminished regard. The tiger lay on his back, and took the goat upon its breast, and licked its face. Such a thing was never seen, either among tame or wild beasts, as an animal kissing the mouth even of its mate.

Mahabat Khan had not as yet sent to Court the elephants obtained in Bengal, and he had realized large sums of money due to the State, and also from *jagirs*. A person called 'Arab Dast-ghaib was therefore sent to collect the elephants, and bring them to Court, also to obtain a settlement of accounts, and to return to Court if the result proved satisfactory.

¹³³ Khan-Jahan Lodi, from whom the *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan* Lodi received its name.

Intelligence arrived that Khan Jahan had come from Gujarat, and had joined Prince Parwez. A letter arrived simultaneously from Khan Jahan himself, stating that 'Abdu-lla Khan had abandoned Shah Jahan, and through him had written penitent and submissive letters, begging for forgiveness. Khan Jahan forwarded the letters with his own intercession, and pardon was granted...

On the 8th Jumada-s sani the Emperor began his travels in the direction of Kabul...

TWENTY-FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN

The twenty-first year of the reign began on the 10th Jumada-s sani, 1035 H... An answer to the dutiful letter of Shah Jahan was written and forwarded, with a mace set with diamonds, valued at a *lac* of rupees, a studded girdle, etc...

REBELLION OF MAHABAT KHAN

It has previously been mentioned that 'Arab Dast-ghaib had been sent to Mahabat Khan in Bengal, to bring the elephants, and to summon the Khan to Court. Mahabat Khan, having first sent the elephants, came himself to the vicinity of the royal camp. His recall was owing to the instigation of Asaf Khan,¹³⁴ whose object was to bring him to disgrace, and to deprive him of honour, property, and life. But Mahabat Khan had cleverly seen through Asaf's designs, and had brought with him 4,000 or 5,000 Rajputs, brave men united in one cause. He had also brought the wives and families of many of them, so that, if driven to extremity, they would fight to the last for the lives and honour of themselves and their families.

Although strong observations were made about the manner in which Mahabat Khan had come, Nawab Asaf Khan treated the matter with indifference and negligence. When his arrival was reported to the Emperor, a message

¹³⁴ *Brother of Nur Jahan.*

was sent forbidding him to attend at Court until summoned. The elephants which he had brought were to be forwarded to Court.

Mahabat Khan had, without the royal permission, affianced his daughter to the son of Khwaja 'Umar Nakshabandi. The Emperor made a great noise about this. He sent for the young man, and having treated him with great insult and harshness, he gave orders for binding his hands to his neck, and for taking him bare-headed to prison. Fidai Khan was directed to seize what Mahabat Khan had given to the youth, and place it in the Imperial treasury.

The abiding place of the Emperor was on the bank of the river Behat, and Asaf Khan, notwithstanding the presence of such a brave and daring enemy, was so heedless of his master's safety, that he left him on that side of the river, while he passed over the bridge to the other side, with the children and women, and the attendants and officers. He sent over also the baggage, the treasury, the arms, etc., even to the very domestics.

¹³⁵ Mahabat Khan perceived that his life and honour were at stake, and that he had no resource, for he had not a single friend left near the Emperor. With 4,000 or 5,000 Rajputs who had sworn fidelity to him, he proceeded to the head of the bridge. There he left nearly 2,000 horsemen to hold it, and to burn the bridge rather than allow any one to pass over. Mahabat Khan then proceeded to the royal quarters. The writer of this *Ikbāl-nama* at that time held the offices of *bakhshi* and *mir-tuzak*; therefore he had not gone over the river, but passed the night in the ante-chamber. After prayers, and saying good morning to his comrades, he went round to inspect. A cry arose that Mahabat Khan was coming, and the thought occurred to me¹³⁶ that perhaps

¹³⁵ The printed text here gives two versions, extending to about a page and a half. The one adopted by the *Tatimmna* is here followed.

¹³⁶ The writer here adopts the first person.

he had gone to the door of the private apartments. Then it was said that he had left the private apartments, and had come to the state-apartment, to give expression to his feelings. On reaching the entrance of my ante-room, he inquired how matters stood. When his voice reached my ear, I drew my sword, and went out of the tent. When he saw me, he addressed me by name, and asked after His Majesty. I saw that he had with him about 100 Rajputs on foot, carrying spears and shields, and leading his horse in the midst of them ; but the dust prevented me from seeing any one's face distinctly. He hastened to the chief entrance, and I entered the state-apartment by a side door. I saw a few men of the guard in the state-room, and three or four eunuchs standing at the door of the bath-room. Mahabat Khan rode to the door of the state-room, and alighted. When he proceeded towards the bath-room, he had about 200 Rajputs with him. I then went forward, and in my simplicity exclaimed. "This presumption and temerity is beyond all rule ; if you will wait a minute, I will go on in and make a report." He did not trouble himself to answer. When he reached the entrance of the bath-room, his attendants tore down the boards which the door-keepers had put up for security, and threw them into the middle of the state-room. The servants who were in attendance on His Majesty informed him of this daring action. The Emperor then came out, and took his seat in a *palki* which was in waiting for him. Mahabat Khan advanced respectfully to the door of the *palki*, and said, "I have assured myself that escape from the malice and implacable hatred of Asaf Khan is impossible, and that I shall be put to death in shame and ignominy. I have therefore boldly and presumptuously thrown myself upon your Majesty's protection. If I deserve death or punishment, give the order that I may suffer it in your presence."

The armed Rajputs now flocked in, and surrounded the the royal apartments. There was no one with His Majesty but 'Arab Dast-ghaib... and a few other attendants. The

violent entrance of that faithless dog had alarmed and enraged His Majesty, so he twice placed his hand on his sword to cleanse the world from the filthy existence of that foul dog. But each time Mansur Badakhshi said, "This is a time for fortitude, leave the punishment of this wicked faithless fellow to a just God : a day of retribution will come." His words seemed prudent, so His Majesty restrained himself. In a short time the Rajputs occupied the royal apartments within and without, so that no one but the servants could approach His Majesty. The villian then said, "It is time to go out riding and hunting ; let the necessary orders be given as usual, so that your slave may go out in attendance upon you, and it may appear that this bold step has been taken by Your Majesty's order." He brought his own horse forward, and urged the Emperor to mount it ; but the royal dignity would not permit him to ride upon his horse. So he called for his own horse, and ordered his riding garments to be taken into the private apartments. But that shrewd villain would not allow him to go inside.

They waited a little until the horse was brought. His Majesty then mounted and rode to two arrow-shots distance from the tents. An elephant was brought forward, and Mahabat Khan said that there was a crowd and uproar. His Majesty had therefore better mount the elephant, and so proceed to the hunting ground. The Emperor, without any observation or opposition, mounted the beast. One of the most trusted Rajputs took his seat in front, and two others behind the *howda*. Mukarrak Khan now came forward, and to satisfy him, took a place in the *howda* with the Emperor. In the confusion, Mukarrak had received accidentally a wound in the forehead, from which a good deal of blood had run, and covered his bosom. One of the personal attendants of His Majesty, who had charge of the wine, and carried the royal wine-cup in his hand, now came up to the elephant. The Rajputs seized their spears, and with their hands and arms tried to prevent him ; but he seized fast hold of the *howda*, and as there was no room for three

persons to sit outside, he supported himself by holding the middle of the *howda*. After going about half a *kos*, Gajpat Khan, the master of the elephant stables, brought up the Emperor's own elephant. He was seated in front, and his son behind. Apparently this roused Mahabat Khan's suspicion, and he gave the sign to the Rajputs for killing these two innocent men.

Dressed as if for hunting, Mahabat Khan led the way to his own abode, and His Majesty went in and stayed there for a time. Mahabat placed his wretched sons around the Emperor. He had taken no thought of Nur Jahan Begam; so it now occurred to him that he would take the Emperor back to the royal abode, and make himself safe on that side also. With this intention, he conducted the Emperor back. But as it happened, Nur Jahan, thinking that His Majesty had gone out hunting, took the opportunity to pass over the river with Jawahir Khan, the eunuch, to pay a visit to her brother Asaf Khan. When Mahabat discovered the departure of Nur Jahan, he bitterly repented of the blunder he had made in not securing her. He now bethought him of Shahriyar, and saw that it would be a great error to let him be apart from the Emperor. So he made His Majesty mount once more and carried him to the house of Shahriyar. Apprehension and fear for his life so distracted the traitor, that his deeds and words were not at all sensible. He neither knew what he said nor what he did, nor what was to be done. Every minute some design or some anxiety entered his mind, and caused regret. His Majesty made no opposition to any of his proposals.

When the bold traitor entered the royal apartments, Jahju, grandson of Shuja'at Khan, one of the chief nobles of the late Emperor Akbar, was present, and he went everywhere with His Majesty, until he was taken to the abode of Shahriyar. One cannot tell what suspicion or doubt entered the heart of the traitor; but when His Majesty went in, Mahabat directed his Rajputs to seize Jahju and slay him, and they soon made a martyr of him.

After Nur Jahan had crossed the river, and reached the house of her brother, she summoned all the chief nobles and addressed them in reproachful terms. "This" she said, "has all happened through your neglect and stupid arrangements. What never entered into the imagination of any one has come to pass, and now you stand stricken with shame for your conduct before God and man. You must do your best to repair this evil, and advise what course to pursue." With one mind and one voice they all advised that on the morrow the forces should be drawn out, and that they should pass over the river with her to defeat the rebel and deliver His Majesty. This unwise resolution reached the Emperor's ears, and he considered it very wrong. During the night he sent Mukarrib Khan and several others in succession to Asaf Khan and the great nobles, warning them against passing over the river to give battle, for to do so would be a great mistake, productive of nothing but evil and repentance. With what hope and what zeal could they fight, while he was on a different side of the river. To certify and enforce this counsel, he sent his own signet ring over by Mir Mansur. But Asaf Khan suspected that this was done and said at the instigation of Mahabat Khan; so he paid no heed to it, but resolved to carry out the plan they had resolved on.

Fidai Khan, on being informed of what had happened, mounted his horse, and rode down to the river; but the bridge had been burnt, and there was no means of passing over. Having no other resource, with a few of his faithful followers, he rode into the river opposite the royal abode, and tried to cross over by swimming. Six of his men perished in the waters; others, through the coldness of the water, were unable to proceed, and returned to land half dead. The Khan, with seven other horsemen, reached the opposite bank, and made a gallant effort. Four of his companions were killed; and when he saw that the enemy was too strong, that he could not reach His Majesty, and that his effort must fail, he fell back like a block of stone in an iron

wall,¹³⁷ and repassed the river with the same dash and spirit with which he had crossed it. The Emperor passed that night in the abode of Shahriyar.

On Sunday, the 20th Farwardin, of the Ilahi era, agreeing with 21st Jumada-s sani, Asaf Khan, with Khwaja Abu-l Hasan, and other grandees, being resolved upon giving battle, determined to pass the river in attendance upon Nur-Jahan Begam, by a ford which Ghazi, the commander of the boats, had discovered. As it happened, this was one of the worst of fords. Three or four large holes had to be passed, in which the water was deep. In the passage all order was lost, and each party got over as best it could. Asaf Khan, Khwaja Abu-l Hasan, and Iradat Khan, with the elephant-litter of the Begam, landed in front of a strong party of the enemy, which held the bank, with their elephants posted in their front. Fidai Khan crossed over at a ford about an arrowshot lower down. Abu Talib, son of Asaf Khan, and a considerable number of men, passed at a ford still lower down. At times the horses were obliged to swim, the accoutrements got wet, and the harness disordered. Some of them had reached the shore, and some were still in the water, when the enemy came down upon them, their elephants leading. Asaf Khan and Khwaja Abu-l Hasan were yet in the middle of the river, when the men in advance of them recoiled (I was paralyzed at this sight, as if a millstone had been revolving on the top of my head). No one cared for or gave ear to another, no one showed any resolution. The first thing to be done was to secure the ford which offered the easiest passage, and to send a force over to occupy the opposite bank, and to keep the enemy off, so that the *amirs* and their men might cross the river without interruption, to support those who had already got over. This was a time for the exhibition of discipline, resolution, and devotion. But now every one who was in front fell

¹³⁷ *The author of the Tatimma shows his taste by cutting out this simile.*

back, and those who went on together fell. The officers, in a panic, rushed off in disorder, not knowing whither they went, or where they led their men.

I and Khwaja Abu-l Hasan had crossed one (branch of the) river, and were standing on the brink of the second, beholding the working of destiny. Horsemen and footmen, horses, camels, and carriages, were in the midst of the river, jostling each other, and pressing to the opposite shore. At this time a eunuch of Nur Jahan's, whose name was Nadim, came to us, and said, "The Begam wants to know if this is the time for delay and irresolution; strike boldly forward, so that by your advance the enemy may be repulsed, and take to flight." I and the Khwaja did not wait to give an answer, but plunged into the water. Seven or eight hundred Rajputs, with a number of war-elephants in their front, occupied the opposite shore in firm array. Some of our men, horse and foot, approached the bank, in a broken and disordered condition. The enemy pushed forward their elephants, and the horsemen came from the rear, dashed into the water, and plied their swords. Our handful of men, being without leaders, turned and fled, and the swords of the enemy tinged the water with their blood. The Begam Nur Jahan had in her litter the daughter of Shahriyar, whose *anka*,¹³⁸ or nurse was the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan. The *anka* received an arrow in her arm, and the Begam herself pulled it out, staining her garments with blood. The elephant on which the Begam was riding received two sword-cuts on the trunk, and when he turned round, he was wounded two or three times behind with spears. The Rajputs pushed after him with their drawn swords, and his drivers urged him on into the deep water. The horsemen then had to swin, and becoming afraid of being drowned,

¹³⁸Here, as frequently in other works, we have the word *atka* instead of *anka*, foster-father instead of fostermother. The *Tatimma* does not mention the nurse, but says it was the child who was wounded.

they turned back. The elephant swam to shore, and the Begam proceeded to the royal abode. Khwaja Abu-l Hasan and I were together. He left me and made haste to the Begam's abode, and I remained with forty of my men by the side of the river. They kept up a discharge of arrows, and the Rajputs made no attempt to cross to our side. Asaf Khan now came in sight; his companions were scattered and his plan had failed, so he departed. I sought and shouted for his followers, but could not find them or any trace of them.

When Khwaja Abu-l Hasan left me, he went off at a sharp pace, and in his distraction and alarm, he rode into the river. The water was deep, and the stream was running strong. While the horse was swimming, he fell off; but he clutched the saddle-bow with both hands. The horse went under several times, and was drowned; but the Khwaja never let go the saddle-bow. A Kashmiri boatman made his way to him, and saved his life.

Fidai Khan, with a party of the Emperor's servants, and some of his own men who had been long attached to him, passed the river, and attacked the force which he found opposed to him. He drove back the enemy, and reached the house of Shahriyar, where the Emperor then was. The interior of the residence was full of men, both horse and foot; so Fidai Khan stopped at the entrance, and sent a discharge of arrows inside. Some of the arrows fell in the courtyard of the private apartments near His Majesty, when Mukhlis Khan placed himself before the throne, and made his body a shield for the protection of the Emperor. Fidai Khan persevered for some time in his efforts, but several of his followers were killed, others were severely wounded, and the Khan's own horse received four wounds. When he found that he could not succeed, and that there was no chance of reaching the Emperor, he passed through the camp, and went up the river. Next day he crossed the river, and repaired to his sons, who were in Rohtas... Asaf Khan, who was the cause of this disaster,

and whose folly and rashness had brought matters to this pass, when he found that he could no longer make any resistance to Mahabat Khan, fled with his son Abu Talib, and 200 or 300 horse, *bargirs*, and servants, to the fort of Atak, which was in his *jagir*, and closed the fortress... Mahabat sent a large party of the royal *ahadis* (guards), with some of his own followers, and the *zamindars* of the neighbourhood, under the command of his son Bihroz and a Rajput, to invest Atak. They reduced the fort, and Asaf Khan bowed to Fate, and bound himself by promise, and oath to uphold Mahabat. When the Emperor crossed the river at Atak, Mahabat Khan, having received the royal permission, went into the fort, brought out Asaf Khan and his son Abu Talib, and gave it into the charge of his own adherents. (*Several of Asaf Khan's followers executed.*) The royal camp rested for a while at Jalalabad...and on the 21st Sha'ban arrived at Kabul, and the Emperor visited the tombs of his ancestors... A party of Rajputs turned out their horses to graze in the hunting ground near Kabul and a contention arose with the keepers, in which an *ahadi* was killed... The *ahadis* sought redress,...and, dissatisfied with the answer they received,... attacked the Rajputs, and killed 600 or 700 of them.

DEATH OF MALIK 'AMBAR

Intelligence now arrived of the death of 'Ambar the Abyssinian, in the eighteenth year of his age, on the 31st Urdibihist. in the eightieth year of his age, on the 31st Urdibihist. This 'Ambar was a slave, but an able man. In warfare, in command, in sound judgment, and in administration, he had no rival or equal. He well understood that predatory (*kazzaki*); warfare, which in the language of the Dakhin is called *bargi-giri*. He kept down the turbulent spirits of that country, and maintained his exalted position to the end of his life, and closed his career in honour. History records no other instance of an Abyssinian slave arriving at such eminence...

The Emperor, with Nur Jahan Begam,¹³⁹ while at Kabul, went to pay a visit to Shah Isma'il. It was now reported that Shah Jahan had departed from the frontiers of Nizamu-l Mulk, and proceeded through Malwa to Ajmir. But he made no stay there, and had gone on by way of Jesalmir to Thatta. On the 1st Shahryur, His Majesty started from Kabul to Hindustan. At this time intelligence was brought of the serious illness of Prince Parwez. He was first attacked with colic, then he became insensible, and after medical treatment, fell into heavy sleep. The doctors cauterized him in five places on the head and forehead. His illness was attributed to excessive drinking; the same malady of which his uncles Shah Murad and Shahzada Daniyal had died.

ESCAPE OF THE EMPEROR

His Majesty, in his good nature and gentleness, had now become reconciled to Mahabat Khan, and showed him great favour and kindness, so that Mahabat felt quite secure on that side... Whatever Nur Jahan Begam said to the Emperor in private, he unreservedly repeated to Mahabat Khan, and he bade him beware, for the Begam had a design against him. He also told him that the daughter of Shah-nawaz Khan, who was married to Shayastah Khan, son of Asaf, had threatened to shoot him whenever she got an opportunity. By these means he sent Mahabat's heart at rest, and removed that doubt and suspicion with which Mahabat Khan at first regarded him. Mahabat became less watchful, the guard of Rajputs which he used to bring with him to surround the palace was diminished, and the bands of control were relaxed. Besides, he had lost some of his best men in the fight with the *ahadis* in Kabul.

Nur Jahan Begam worked against him both in private and in public. She maintained a number of followers, and

¹³⁹ *It is not stated when the Begam rejoined the Emperor.*

attached them to herself by money and promises. In time Hushiyar Khan, her eunuch, in compliance with her letters, got together about 2,000 men in Labore, and proceeded to meet her. A considerable number of men had also been got altogether round the royal escort. When he was one march distant from Rohtas, His Majesty determined to hold a review of the cavalry. He gave orders that all the soldiers, old and new, should form in two lines from the royal abode as far as they would extend. He then directed Buland Khan, one of his attendants, to go to Mahabat Khan, and tell him that His Majesty was holding a review of the Begam's troops that day. It would be better therefore for him to postpone the usual parade of the first day, lest words should pass between the two parties and strife ensue.¹⁴⁰ After Buland Khan, he sent Khwaja Abu-l Hasan to enforce his wish more strongly, and to urge Mahabat to go on a stage. The Khwaja, by cogent reasons, prevailed upon him; and, casting off all insolence and improper exercise of power, he went on first. His Majesty followed close after, and making no stay at the first stage, he made two stages into one, and passed over the river to Rohtas, where he found a Court ready to receive him.

The Emperor now sent four written orders to Mahabat Khan. 1. That as Shah Jahan had gone to Thatta, he was to follow and assist in settling matters there. 2. To send

¹⁴⁰ *From this point the text is somewhat obscure. The Tatimma alters the wording, and says, "After Buland Khan he sent Khwaja Abu-l Hasan, to enforce the proposal with suitable arguments. He (Mahabat) acted accordingly, and did not come to wait upon the Emperor. Next day a number of royal adherents assembled at the Emperor's tents. He then directed Mahabat Khan to go on a march in advance; and, although the Khan was aware of what was passing, his mind had been so shaken by the fight with the ahadis, that he did as he was ordered, and marched forward. The Emperor then mounted, and hastened onward. Mahabat Khan could not recover himself, but went on again from the first stage, and crossed the Behat.*

Asaf Khan and his son Abu Talib to Court. 3. To send Tahmuras and Hoshang, sons of the late Prince Daniyal, who had been placed in his charge. 4. To send also Lashkari, son of Mukhlis Khan, who was his surety, and had not yet come to Court. He was warned that if he made any delay in sending Asaf Khan, an army should be sent after him.

Afzal Khan brought the sons of Prince Daniyal; but in the matter of Asaf Khan, he brought a message from Mahabat, saying that he was going to Thatta, but that he was not safe as regarded Nur Jahan. He was afraid that if he let Asaf Khan go, an army would be sent after him. Therefore, with all due submission, he would keep Asaf Khan till he had passed Lahore, and would then set him at liberty. This answer greatly enraged the Begam, who sent Afzal Khan back to report what he had seen and heard, to say that there must be no delay in sending Asaf Khan, and to beware of giving further provocation. Mahabat Khan was overawed by this message. He sent for Asaf Khan, apologized, and bound him by oath and promise. Then having shown him much attention, he sent him to Court. But, for the reason above stated, he detained Asaf's son, Abu Talib, for some days. He then marched as if it was his intention to proceed to Thatta...

When the Court arrived at Lahore, Asaf Khan received the *subadari* of the Panjab. He was also appointed Prime Minister and the order was given for him to preside permanently over the administration of all affairs, revenue and political.....

Mahabat Khan did not proceed far in the direction of Thatta, but turned off, and went towards Hindustan to push his fortune. Information came in that twenty-two *lacs* of rupees was coming to him from Bengal, and that the convoy had arrived near Dehli. A party was sent out to seize upon this treasure, and they fell in with it near Shahabad. The men in charge with their cart loads of money took refuge in a *sarai*, barricaded it, and showed a determination of

holding out to the last. After a good deal of fighting, the royal troops set fire to the *sarai*, and got possession of it, when its defenders fled...

NEWS FROM THE DAKHIN

Prince Parwez died on the 6th Safar, 1035 A.H. His age was thirty-eight solar years.

Intelligence arrived from the Dakhin that Ya'kub Khan, the Abyssinian, who, in that country, was next in rank to Malik 'Ambar, and during his life even had held important commands, had now determined to make his submission to the Imperial throne... Khan Jahan wrote to Ya'kub in warm and assuring terms, and directed the *amirs* to receive him with all hospitality and respect, and to bring him to Burhanpur.

SHAH JAHAN

It has already been mentioned that Shah Jahan, with a small party of adherents, had preceeded to Thatta. In former years he had kept up friendly relations and correspondence with Shah 'Abbas of Persia, and in his present difficulties he entertained the idea of going to him, hoping to receive a friendly reception, until by some means he got over his troubles. On approaching Thatta, Sharifu-l Mulk, the governor of the country, and a devoted servant of Shahriyar's, came forward arrogantly with 3,000 or 4,000 horse, and 10,000 infantry, collected from the country, to oppose Shah Jahan's progress. The Prince had with him only 300 or 400 horse; but Sharifu-l Mulk was afraid to attack them, and retired into the fortress of the city. The fortress had been lately repaired, many guns had been mounted, and chosen parties of men held the various bastions, prepared to make a vigorous defence. Shah Jahan forbid any attempt upon the fort, and desired to avoid a sacrifice of life from the fire of the fortress. A party of his brave fellows, not heeding his prohibition, made an attack; but the works were too strong, and the fire too heavy, so they were repulsed. Some days later another party,

unable to repress their ardour, made another attack. The ground round the fortress was level and open, with not a mound, a wall, a tree, or any kind of shelter. So they placed their shields in front of them, and rushed forward. They came upon a broad and deep ditch, which was full of water. To advance was impossible, to return still more so. Trusting in Providence as their fortress, there they stayed. Shah Jahan sent to recall them, but they did not retire. Some of his devoted servants went to bring them back ; but each one that went took part with them, and choosing the road to death, never returned.

Various events now occurred to prevent Shah Jahan from proceeding to Persia. Prince Parwez was very dangerously ill, and the attempt to subdue Thatta seemed futile, so he determined to return by way of Gujarat and the country of Bihara (Birar?) to the Dakhin. Being weak and ill, he was obliged to travel in a *palki*. He now received intelligence of the death of Prince Parwez, and this hastened his movements. He pursued the route which Mahmud of Ghazni had taken when he conquered Somnath. Passing by Rajpipliya, he arrived at Nasik Trimbak in the Dakhin, where he had left his stores and equipage.

THE DAKHIN

Mizamu-l Mulk, in concert with the Fath Khan, son of Malik 'Ambar, took hostile measures,... so Khan Jahan, placed Lashkar Khan in charge of Burhanpur, and marched to Khirki to frustrate his attempts... Nizamu-l Mulk was in the fortress of Daulatabad. He made Hamid Khan, an Abyasinian slave,¹⁴¹ his commander-in-chief, and delivered

¹⁴¹ *The text gives an account of the "strange history" of this Abyssinian slave. He married a poor woman who served in the female apartments of Nizamu-l Mulk. She made herself useful in supplying the King secretly with wine, and as a procuress in bringing "wives and daughters" for his gratification. By these means she obtained such an ascendancy over him, that she was mistress inside*

over to him the general management of his State. Nizamu-l Mulk was thus kept under control like a bird in a cage ; out of doors by the Abyssinian, and indoors by his wife.

When Khan Jahan's approach became known, Hamid Khan took three *lacs* of *huns*, and went to meet him. The Abyssinian's wiles and the temptation of the money, led Khan Jahan from the course of rectitude. He agreed to take the money, and to restore all the country of the Balaghat, as far as the fortress of Ahmadnagar, to Nizamu-l Mulk. Shame upon this faithless man, who forgot his duty and his loyalty, and bartered such a territory for three *lacs* of *huns* ! Khan Jahan wrote letters to the commandants of the various posts, ordering them to give up the places to the officers of Nizamu-l Mulk, and to return to Court.

One of these letters was sent to Sipahdar Khan, the commandant of Ahmadnagar. When Nizamu-l Mulk's officers went there, the Khan said, "Take possession of the country, for it belongs to you ; but I will not surrender the fort without a royal *farman*." The representatives of Nizamu-l Mulk did their utmost to persuade him, but it was in vain ; he never swerved from his determination, and he busied himself in laying in provisions, and putting the fortress in a state of defence. Other commandants weakly surrendered the country of the Balaghat at the command of Khan Jahan, and repaired to Burhanpur.

At this time died, in the seventy-second year of his age, Khan-khanan, son of Bairam Khan, one of the greatest nobles of the reign of the late Emperor Akbar, who had rendered honourable services and gained important victories...

Mahabat Khan, when he turned off from the road to Thatta, sent his men to meet the convoy of treasure which was on its way to him, and either to bring it after him, or

the palace, and her husband became master outside ; but it must be added that he was a man of ability.

bear it out of the Imperial territory. He concealed himself for some time in the hills of the Rana's country, and then sent persons to Shah Jahan to express his contribution. The Prince received his apologies kindly, called him to his presence, and treated him with great favour and kindness.¹⁴²

TWENTY-SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN

While the Emperor was staying in Kashmir, his illness increased, and he daily became weaker. He was unable to ride on horseback, but was carried about in a *palki*. His sufferings were great... He lost all appetite for food, and rejected opium, which had been his companion for forty years. He took nothing but a few cups of wine of the grape.

Just at this time, Sultan Shahriyar inopportunately fell ill. The "fox's disease",¹⁴³ robbed him of his honour; for all his hair, his whiskers, his eyebrows, and his eyelashes fell off. Nothing that the doctors prescribed was of any benefit, so he returned covered with shame to Lahore.

DEATH OF THE EMPEROR

The Emperor also started on his return to Lahore. When he reached Bairam Kala, his love of sport, which has been so often mentioned in these pages, revived... The country people drove the deer near to the place where His Majesty was seated. He raised his piece and fired, and the stricken animal bounded off to its females, and fell. (*A man who followed it fell down a precipice, and was killed.*) The fate of the poor man greatly affected the Emperor. It seemed as though he had thus seen the angel of death. From that time he had no rest or ease, and his state was entirely

¹⁴² According to the *Tatimma* he had nearly 2,000 horse with him when he joined Shah Jahan at Junir.

¹³⁴ *Dau-s salab*, "scald or loss of hair."

changed. The journey was continued two marches to Rajaur. Towards close of day he stared from thence. On the way he called for a glass of wine ; but when it was placed to his lips, he was unable to swallow. Towards night he grew worse, and he died early on the following day, the 28th Safar, 1037 A.H., in the 22nd year of his reign.

Asaf Khan, the chief personage in the State in concert with Khan-i 'azam (Iradat Khan), brought Dawar Bakhsh, son of Khusru, out of confinement, and held out to him the prospect of his becoming king. But he did not believe them, and placed no confidence in their proposals till they had bound themselves with stringent oaths. Then they placed him on horseback, raised the royal conopy, and proceeded towards the royal quarters. Nur Jahan Begam sent several persons to bring her brother to her ; but he made excuses, and did not go. Asaf Khan now sent off Banarasi, a swift runner, to Shah Jahan, with intelligence of the death of Jahangir ; and as there was no time for writing, he sent his signet ring as a guarantee. Next day the royal retinue came down from the mountains to Bhimbar. There the funeral ceremonies were performed, and the corpse was sent on under escort to Lahore, where it was interred in a garden which Nur Jahan had made.

When the nobles and officers of the State became aware that Asaf Khan had resorted to the stratagem of proclaiming Dawar Bakhsh, in order to secure the accession of Shah Jahan, and that Dawar was, in fact, a mere sacrificial lamb, they gave their support to Asaf Khan, and did whatever he said. So the *khutba* was read in Dawar Bakhsh's name near Bhimbar, and then they started for Lahore... Asaf Khan was not at ease in respect of Nur Jahan, so he kept watch over her, and would allow no communication with her. The Begam's wish was to raise Shahriyar to the throne. Shahriyar was in Lahore when he heard of the Emperor's death, and, urged on by his intriguing wife, he assumed the royal title. He seized upon the royal treasure and everything belonging to the State which was in Lahore. To secure troops

and supporters, he gave to every one what he asked for, and in the course of one week he distributed seventy *lacs* of rupees among the old and new nobles, in the hope of securing his position. Mirza Baisinghar, son of the late Prince Daniyal, on the death of the Emperor, fled to Lahore, and joined Shahriyar. He took the command of the forces, and led them over the river...

On the other side Asaf Khan advanced, Dawar Bakhsh being seated upon one elephant and he upon another. Thus they marched to action, and the opposing forces met about three *kos* from Lahore... At the first attack Shahriyar's mercenaries, unable to face the old and loyal servants of the State, broke and fled. Shahriyar, with 2,000 or 3,000 horse, was in the vicinity of Lahore, awaiting the course of events. A Turki slave brought him the intelligence of the rout. Unable to understand his position and danger, Shahriyar fell back and entered the fortress, thus placing his own foot in the trap. Next day the nobles arrived, and sat down before the fort. Some of his followers had an interview with Asaf Khan, and made terms. 'Azam Khan entered the fort at night, and next morning let in the other *amirs*. Shahriyar fled for refuge into the female apartments of the late Emperor. A eunuch brought him out, and he was led bound to the presence of Dawar Bakhsh. After making the regular bows and homage, he was placed in confinement, and two or three days afterwards he was blinded... Tahmuras and Hoshang, sons of Prince Daniyal, were also taken and confined. Asaf Khan wrote to Shah Jahan, informing him of the victory.

Banarasi, the runner, left Jangazhati, in the mountains of Kashmir, and in twenty days, on the 19th Rabi'u-l awwal, 1037 A.H. he arrived at Junir, on the frontiers of Nizam-ul Mulk. The runner went to the abode of Mahabat Khan, who had just before been received by Shah Jahan. Mahabat Khan sent word into the private apartments of the Prince, who came out and received from the runner the signet ring of Asaf Khan. ... After observing the proper rites and term

of mourning, he commenced his journey on the 23rd Rabi'u-l Awwal, and proceeded by way of Gujarat.¹⁴⁴...

Khan Jahan, after his treaty with Nizamu-l Mulk, and the surrender of the territory of the Balaghat, was joined at Burhanpur by most of the *jagirdars* and nobles. Sipahdar Khan, in Ahmadnagar, rejected all the commands of Khan Jahan and the demands of Nizamu-l Mulk's officers, and vowed that he would not give up the fortress without a royal order, even if it should cost him his head... Khan Jahan was joined by Darya Rohilla and by others at Burhanabad... Then he proceeded to Mandu, and took possession of several parts of Malwa, after which he returned to Burhanpur...

Shah Jahan sent a *farman* to Yaminu-d daula Asaf Khan, to the effect that it would be well if Dawar Bakhsh the son, and (*Shahriyar*) the useless brother,¹⁴⁵ of Khusru, and the sons of Prince Daniyal, were all sent out of the world... On the 2nd Jumada-l awwal, 1037 A.H. agreeing with 10th Bahman, in the twenty-second year of the reign of Jahangir, by general consent Shah Jahan was proclaimed at Lahore, and the *khutba* was read in his name. Dawar Bakhsh, whom the supporters of Shah Jahan had deemed it advisable to set up in order to prevent disturbances, was now cast into prison. On the 26th Jumada-l awwal, Dawar,¹⁴⁶ his brother Garshasp, Shahriyar and Tahmuras and Hoshang, sons of the deceased Prince Daniyal, were all put to death.

¹⁴⁴ He took the Gujarat road because he had not received any communication from Khan-Jahan Lodi, the "Nazim of the Dakhin." —Badshah-nama.

¹⁴⁵ Here, as elsewhere, Shahriyar is designated *nas-hudani*, "fit for nothing."

¹⁴⁶ He was also called *Bulaki*, and the Badshah-nama says "Bulaki, who had only the name of king, and was in fact fettered and helpless, was placed in safe confinement." According to Elphinstone, he escaped to Persia, and was there seen by the Holstein ambassadors in 1633.—Olearius' *Ambassador's Travels*, p. 190.

On reaching the boundaries of the Rana, Shah Jahan was waited upon by Rana Karan at Kokanda, who, as well as his father Rana Amar Singh, had shown great loyalty. He offered his tribute, and received great gifts and honours. The new Emperor now celebrated his thirty-eighth birthday (solar reckoning). On the 19th Jumada-l awwal he reached Ajmir, and, according to the practice of his great ancestors, paid a visit on foot to the tombs of the saints.... Mahabat Khan, a commander-in-chief, solicited and obtained Ajmir in *jagir*. On the 26th Jumada-l awwal, Shah Jahan reached Agra, and encamped outside in the gardens. Next day he entered the city, and was universally recognised as King.

MA-ASIR-I JAHANGIRI

OF

KAMGAR KHAN

This is the name given to the work of Khwaja Kamgar Ghairat Khan by Gladwin, who has abstracted from it copiously in his "History of Jehangir" printed at Calcutta in the year 1788. He calls the author Kamgar Husseiny. The author of the "Critical Essays on Various Manuscript Works," and James Fraser, in his abridged Moghul History, prefixed to his life of Nadir Shah, also call it the *Ma-asir-i Jahangiri*, and Muhammad Tahir 'Inayat Khan, in his Preface to the History of Shah Jahan, says the author calls it by that name; but the author himself gives no name to the work, and Indian writers, as in the *Ma-asiru-l Umara* and the *Muntakhabu-l Lubab*, usually speak of it simply under the name of *Jahangir-nama*.

Khwaja Kamgar informs us that in consequence of the incompleteness of the Emperor's autobiography, he had long contemplated supplying its deficiencies by writing a complete life himself; when he was at last induced to undertake it at the instigation of the Emperor Shah Jahan in the third year,¹⁴⁷ of his reign, A.H. 1040 (A.D. 1630-1).

Khwaja Kamgar was son of Sardar Khan, who came to Court in the fourteenth year of Jahangir's reign, and received a *tuyul* of Hajipur in Mungir and some *parganas* in Bihar. He was nephew, by the brother's side, of 'Abdu-lla Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang, was in the third year of Shah Jahan's reign invested with the *mansab* of 1,000 and 400 *sawars*, and in the fourth year of the reign rose to higher honours in consequence of his concern in the pursuit of the gallant Khan Jahan Lodi.

¹⁴⁷ Dating the commencement of the reign from Jahangir's death in A.H. 1037.

Khan Jahan, after he had risen in rebellion in the Dakhin, was soon overwhelmed by the defeat of his allies, as well as by the pestilence and famine which were ravaging the land. He therefore determined to take refuge with the Afghans of Peshawar, where all the north-eastern tribes were at that time in arms. With this view he crossed the Nerbadda, near the frontier of Gujarat, and traversed Malwa into Bundelkand, where he hoped to revive the spirit of insurrection; but the Raja turned against him, and cut off his rear-guard under his faithful friend Darya Khan.¹⁴⁸

Khwaja Kamgar, in company with his uncle 'Abdulla Khan, pursued him with an army composed principally of *saiyids*, at the head of whom was Saiyid Muzaffar Khan Barha, and so hotly was the pursuit maintained, that the fugitives were several times compelled to turn upon the Imperialists, and try the fortune of an engagement. Khan Jahan tried to force his way into Kalinjar; but after the loss of his son and several of his adherents, he was forced to relinquish that object.

About forty miles from Kalinjar, he ventured his last desperate engagement, on the 1st of Rajab, A.H. 1040, when he and all his followers were cut to pieces by an advance guard under Madhu Singh, son of the Hada chief of Bundi,¹⁴⁹ before either 'Abdu-lla Khan or Muzaffar Khan could come up.

'Abdu-lla Khan, upon reaching the scene of action, sent the heads of Khan Jahan, of 'Aziz his son, and of Imal Khan, to the Emperor, by the hands of Khwaja Kamgar, who arrived at Court while His Majesty was engaged in a sporting excursion on the river Tapti. The Emperor was overjoyed at the news, invested the Khwaja

¹⁴⁸ *Elphinstone's India*, vol. ii, p. 358, see also *Dow's Hindustan*, vol. iii, pp. 133-147.

¹⁴⁹ This is according to the statement of Kewal Ram in the *Tazkiratu-l Umara*, s.v. "Khan Jahan Lodi." Shah Nawaz Khan, in the *Ma-asiru-l Umara*, gives, as might be expected, all the credit to the Barha Saiyids.

with a 'robe of honour, gave him the title of Ghairat Khan, and increased his *mansab* by 500 personal and 200 *sawars*; and as the Khwaja was a man of sound intellect, considerable experience, long tried service he, shortly was advanced to still higher honours.

In the tenth year of the reign, the Khwaja was promoted to the office of governor of Dehli, which had become vacant by the dismissal of Asalat Khan, and *mansab* of 2,500 and 2,000 *sawars* was at the same time conferred upon him.

In the twelfth year of the reign, the superintendence of the Delhi canal and foundation of the city of Shahjahanabad were committed to his care.

On the 9th of Muharram, 1049, H., the first plan was altered. A new one was substituted in its stead, of which the Khwaja had just laid the foundation with the materials that he had been able to procure during the short time he had been at Dehli, when being made *subadar* of Thatta, and a *mansabdar* of 3,000, he was obliged to relinquish the work and set out for his new charge. He had not long entered upon it, when he died at the seat of his government in A.H. 1050 (A.D. 1640-1).¹⁵⁰

The *Ma-asir-i Jahangiri* is divided into chapters devoted to the different years of the reign, there being but few other rubrics throughout the rest of the volume. The author of the Critical Essays¹⁵¹ observes of it, that it resembles the *Ikbāl-nama* in its paucity of minute details. About one-sixth of the volume is devoted to the proceedings of Jahangir previous to his accession, upon which portion Shah Nawaz Khan remarks that it is very independent and free-spoken in its tone, affording a favourable contrast to *Ikbāl-nama*, which was written for the purpose of courting Imperial favour; but the manner in which the murder of Abu-l Fazl is spoken of in one of the following extracts scarcely bears out the encomium. The fact is admitted, but every kind of

¹⁵⁰ These details are chiefly taken from the *Ma-asiru-l Umara*. The *Tazkiratu-l Umara* differs in some of the dates.

¹⁵¹ Vide p. 39.

palliative which courtly flattery could suggest is resorted to in order to hide the infamy of the deed. (Sir H. M. Elliot's MS. is an octavo of 382 pages, 11 lines to the page).

EXTRACTS

When the King of Kings (Jahangir) was residing in the city of Allahabad, before he succeeded to the throne, a body of seditious and turbulent people, who had the privilege of addressing the Emperor Akbar in his paradisaical Court, were in the habit of spreading false reports openly and clandestinely against that ornament of the crown of Prince Salim. Sometimes they represented that he had conferred upon his servants the titles of Khan and Sultan, and at other times they said that he had ordered coins to be struck in his name. By such misrepresentations they every day attempted to excite the alarm of the Emperor, who, being endowed with a very enlightened and noble mind, was but little affected by their insinuations. In truth, in the relation of father and son, there were those ties of love and affection between the Emperor and the Prince which existed between Jacob and his son Joseph.

One of the events of those days was the murder of Shaikh Abu-l Fazl, who, by his superior wisdom and vast learning, was the most distinguished of all the Shaikhs of Hindustan. The following is a detailed account of this event. The Shaikh, intoxicated by the wine of fortune, and vain of the influence he had obtained over the Emperor's mind, had lost his senses, and having suffered the thread of wisdom and the knowledge of self to drop from his hands, had become proud of his position, and acted with rancour and animosity against his master's son. He often said to the Emperor, both publicly and privately, that he knew none but His Majesty, and would never entreat or flatter any person, not even the eldest Prince. He had well assured the Emperor of the firmness of his sentiments in this particular. In those days, when the Prince was at Allahabad, some designing people constantly made statements which excited the dis-

pleasure of the Emperor against him. If at any time any of the nobles of the Court advanced any excuses, or volunteered any defence in behalf of the Prince, His Majesty would consider that they said it through ill-will towards himself, or too much partiality towards the Prince. But in defiance of all that he heard, he considered that the Shaikh was his friend, and that he was also cordially disposed towards the Prince. A *farman* was therefore sent to him, ordering him to leave his son with the army he had under his command in the Dakhin, and to come alone and unattended to the Court.

When this news reached the Prince, that master of prudence and scholar of the supreme wisdom at once reflected, that if the Shaikh should ever arrive at Court, he would certainly estrange His Majesty's mind from the Prince by his misrepresentations. He reflected also that he would never be able to find his way to Court, so long as the Shaikh should remain there, and that he would necessarily be excluded from the enjoyment of that consummate happiness. Under these circumstances, it was expedient to take measures to arrest the evil before it could occur. Finding that the only remedy depended entirely upon the Shaikh's destruction, he called Raja Nar Singh Deo, son of Raja Budhkar, whose territory lay on the road which the Shaikh must take, and who was one of the servants of the throne, and told him that the Shaikh was about to proceed unattended to the Court, and that if he would put an end to his existence, he should obtain great rewards and favours. The Raja willingly undertook the task, and hastily marched in that direction. Assisted by his divine power, he soon waylaid the Shaikh, while he was passing through his territory. After a short skirmish, the Shaikh's attendants were dispersed, and he himself was slain. His head was sent to Allahabad by a confidential servant, who communicated all that had transpired. Great fear and consternation prevailed in men's minds in sequence of this transaction, and as for the Emperor, although it excited his highest indignation, yet the deed done by Nar Singh Deo enabled the prince to visit

his father without any apprehension, and in a short time His Majesty's sorrow wore off, and he received the Prince with kindness.....

TWENTY-FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN

When the Prince Shah Jahan heard of the rebellious proceedings of Mahabat Khan, he resolved that he would hasten immediately to the Emperor his father, although he was unprepared for war, and was in a very feeble state of health. He stated his design to Khan Jahan and to Raja Nar Singh Deo, and endeavoured to gain their support; but they did not incline to his proposals, and made excuses. The Prince put his trust in God, and started with a small force from Nasik, trusting that he might find assistance on the road, and collect a force. He passed through the pass of Chanda, although Prince Parwez, with all the Imperial army, was at Burhanpur. Passing about twenty *kos* from Burhanpur, he crossed the Nerbadda, in the territory of Mandu. Upon reaching Ajmir, Raja Kishan Singh, son of Raja Bhim, who had accompanied him from Nasik with 500 horse, was taken ill and died. His followers then dispersed. Only 400 or 500 men then remained with the Prince, and with such a small force it was impossible for him to carry out his design of going to the Emperor. It then occurred to him that he would go to Thatta, which is in a remote corner, and there wait patiently for a while. From Ajmir he proceeded to Nagor, and from thence to Joudhpur. From thence he travelled to Thatta by the route by which the Emperor Humayun had fled to Sind when driven from his throne. This route was very arid and destitute of water, and his journey was attended with great hardship. When he reached the country of Thatta, Sharif Mulk, who held the place for Prince Shahriyar, did his best to put the town in a state of defence, and the Prince was thwarted in his designs by obstacles which it would be tedious to relate. He was greatly affected by his ill-success, and many of his most devoted followers were disabled. Just at this time a letter

reached him from Nur Jahan, informing him that his march had alarmed Mahabat Khan, whose forces had been driven away, and dispersed, and that the Prince had better return to the Dakhin, and await a change of fortune. The advice of the Begam seemed good, so the Prince determined to return to the Dakhin by way of Gujarat.

INTIKHAB-I JAHANGIR-SHAHI

This is the name ascribed to a work, of which a few Extracts are given at the close of one of the copies of the twelve-year Memoirs in my possession. The extracts consist of only forty pages, of thirteen lines, and evidently belong to a larger work, because the author speaks of his having related, in another part of the volume, a detailed account of the proceedings of Bikramajit and of 'Usman in Bengal ; and neither of these passages occurs in these extracts.

It may perhaps be the same work as is mentioned in No. 345 of Sir W. Ouseley's Catalogue, under the name of "Historical Anecdotes of Jahangir"; but neither the name of the compiler nor the nature of the anecdotes is given.

The author of the *Intikhab* was evidently a contemporary and a companion of Jahangir, for he mentions his visit to Shaikh Dula, a religious enthusiast, residing at Sialkot, who had attracted the notice of Jahangir, and imposed upon the credulity of the common people, as well as His Majesty, by expending large sums upon the maintenance of beggars, the repairs of mosques and tombs, and the erection of buildings, one of which at "new Gujarat," in the Panjab, could not have cost less than 15,000 rupees ; and all this without any available sources of supply, for the offerings that were made to him chiefly consisted of raw or refined sugar. In another place the author mentions that when Shah 'Abbas sent from Isfahan an ambassador with a complimentary letter to Jahangir, His Majesty, who was then at Ajmir, was pleased to insert in his reply a verse composed by the author, to the effect that "though the explanation given be not true, yet the probability of it affords pleasure." But there is no allusion to this in the autobiography of that Emperor.

The work does not appear to be so much a continuous history as a collection of anecdotes, most of them taken from the common histories of Jahangir noticed above; but he gives information not to be found in those works, and the entire manuscript would be worth recovery.

The author of the *Tabakat-i Shah-Jahani* mentions a work written by Shaikh 'Abdu-l Wahab, entitled the *Akhlak-i Jahangiri*. This may possibly be the work now under notice, for the nature of the stories admits of their being classed under this title. The Shaikh is represented to have been an elegant writer, both in poetry and prose. He died A.H. 1032 (A.D. 1622-3).

(The following Extracts were translated by a *munshi*, and revised by Sir H. M. Elliot).

EXTRACTS

Four or five persons were appointed, through whose agency money or land was distributed to the people. Kazi Aslam of Kabul was appointed to introduce the people of that province; Shaikh Sikandar Gujarati to introduce the people of Gujarat; 'Azmat Khan of the Dakhin to introduce the people of the Dakhin; and Shaikh Mu'inu-d din of Rajgir to introduce the people of Bengal. Those who came from Lahore, Dehli, and the places in their vicinity, were brought before His Majesty by Saiyid Ahmad Kadri; and the elephant-drivers were introduced by Gujat Khan, the superintendent of elephants. It was strictly ordered that if any person should fall in with a deserving man, he should not neglect to bring him into His Majesty's presence. Haji Koka Begam was maintained in the superintendence of the affairs connected with the seraglio, and she was now ordered to discharge her duties with more diligence. After a few days, the petitioners for rent-free land came forward in such numbers, that some of the ministers of the empire took the opportunity of representing that if His Majesty's liberality extended much further, there would in a few years be no land left to yield revenue to the

State. The Emperor replied that these petitioners were like an army to pray for him, and that as the remonstrants were the ministers of the Crown, they should all endeavour to increase this army. May the Almighty preserve the stream of the life of this generous Emperor to flow in this world till the end of time ! No King was ever more generous and kind to beggars than Jahangir. My object in writing these particulars is to show that, although there is no comparison between a king and a beggar, yet the Emperor's whole attention was devoted to those things which pleased the hearts of the people.....

The King indemnified every person who had been plundered on the road-side by Sultan Khusru in his flight. For instance the Sultan had given a note of hand addressed to His Majesty in favour of a person who had been robbed of his horses, and the King satisfied the demand. The prince himself used to say that one night during his flight, he was much overcome by drowsiness and fatigue, and was obliged to alight in a forest, and lie down on the earth like a dead man. No one of the party took the slightest heed of his comrade. The horses also lay neglected on the ground. After a short time, jackal came and seized hold of his foot, but his boots saved him from injury.

His Majesty ordered Prince Khusru to be deprived of his sight. When the wire was put in his eyes, such pain was inflicted on him, that it is beyond all expression. The Prince, after being deprived of sight, was brought to Agra ; and the paternal love again revived. The most experienced physicians were ordered to take measures to heal the eyes of the Prince, that they might become as sound as they were before. One of the physicians of Persia, Hakim Sadra by name, undertook to cure the Prince within six months. By his skill, the Prince recovered his original power of vision in one of his eyes, but the other remained a little defective in that respect, and also became smaller than its natural size. After the lapse of the assigned time, the Prince was presented to his His Majesty, who showed the physician great

favour, and honoured him with the title of *Masihuz Zaman*.

During the space of three years and some months, while at Ajmir, His Majesty devised some excellent rules for the tranquillity and well-being of his subjects, and determining to devote each day of the week to some particular pursuit, on that day attended to no other business. On all the festivals observed on Thursday, which was called by His Majesty *Mubarak-shamba*, no other business was transacted but that of merriment and festivity, including the granting of promotions, and visiting gardens and fountains. On Fridays, it was ordered that about 1,000 men, who were the strict and constant followers of the Muhammadan religion, should be called before His Majesty, and food of all kinds, such as was suited to destitute persons, should be distributed amongst them to such an extent as to leave them fully satisfied. The Emperor was of a very good disposition. While they were taking their dinner, he always ordered curds to be given to them, that they might be able to eat more, and fix their minds on the worship of the Creator of the world. A countless number were fortunate enough to get their fill at those feasts. On Saturdays, His Majesty used to see the elephants fight, and the contests of the swordsmen. At this time, those brave men who firmly stood their ground while witnessing the elephant fights were enlisted among the nobles. On Sundays, a large number of invalids, the lame, the maimed, and the blind, were collected under the *jharoka*, and the Emperor Jahangir distributed large sums of money among them with his own hand. After a time, he would order one of the courtiers to count what each man had received; and it was one of the wonders of the works of God, that those who were blind were found always to have received more than others. The intelligent Emperor was much surprised at this, and observed to his followers that those who had no eyes placed entire dependence upon the disinterested liberality of God, hence it was that they got more than others. It was ordered on Mondays, that a

party of young nobles and the army should practise archery, and some of the nobles were orderd to play at *chaugan*,¹⁵² and the offerings presented on that day, which were beyond calculation, were bestowed upon Hafiz Nad-i 'Ali.¹⁵³ On Tuesdays, leopards, hunted deer, and dogs chased foxes and rabbits. Those rabbits and foxes which were not caught during the hunt were carried off, and set free in the jungle. The elephants and other animals were also allowed to fight on this day, on which also criminals were executed. Wednesdays were very disagreeable to His Majesty. It happened that the Emperor Akbar died on this day, and the daughter of Shah Jahan, whom Jahangir had himself brought up, and loved more than his own life, expired in Ajmir on a Wednesday. Hence it was that His Majesty had called it *Kam-shamba*.¹⁵⁴ Those against whom the King was incensed were sent on this day to prison, or ordered to be scourged. On all the days of the week His Majesty never ceased to disregard the pursuit of his own gratification. From noon till midnight the Emperor was chiefly occupied in granting the prayers of his subjects.

¹⁵² See this game described in Ouseley's "Travels in Persia."

¹⁵³ We find a similar indulgence conceded to Hafiz Nad-i 'Ali on the first Monday of the 11th Julus. Jahangir calls him his spy—one of the old servants of the Court—and that he bestowed upon him all the peshkash of money and goods which was offered on that day. (Memoirs, eleventh year). Here he is said to receive the offerings of every Monday.

¹⁵⁴ Respecting these assigned names, the Emperor himself observes, "As several peculiarities attended this Thursday, first, that it was the anniversary of my accession, second, that it was the night of the festival of Barat; third, that it was the day of the festival of the Rakhi, which I have before described as being held in great estimation by Hindus :—on account of these three fortunate coincidences, I denominated this day "the blessed shamba." As Wednesday, on the contrary, had proved unfortunate, I called it the Kam-shamba, and may it continue Kam (little) to the end of time."—Memoirs of the twelfth year.

Shahriyar, who was the most beautiful of all the princes, got a pain in his eyes, and Mukarrab Khan was ordered to cure him. He used many appropriate remedies, and succeeded in his endeavours. When his recovery was reported, His Majesty asked Mukarrab Khan after the Prince's health ; and when the Khan replied that his eyes were quite well again, the Emperor said, "Yes, they will no doubt continue quite well, if they be not deprived of light by his brothers." The Almighty God had embellished the person of the Emperor Jahangir with all external and internal excellences, and had given him the light of His own knowledge, for oftentimes circumstances came to pass just as he had previously predicted.

One day at Ahmadabad it was reported that many of the infidel and superstitious sect of the *Seoras* (Jains) of Gujarat had made several very great and splendid temples, and having placed in them their false gods, had managed to secure a large degree of respect for themselves, and that the women who went for worship in those temples were polluted by them and other people. *Seora* is a sect of people in whose religion to be always barefooted and bareheaded is considered as one of the modes of worship ; and to drink always warm water, and to pull out the hair of their head and beard, is reckoned as one of the deeds of virtue. They wear no other dress than a shirt of cloth. The Emperor Jahangir ordered them to be banished from the country, and their temples to be demolished. Their idol was thrown down on the uppermost step of the mosque, that it might be trodden upon by those who came to say their daily prayers there. By this order of the Emperor, the infidels were exceedingly disgraced, and Islam exalted.....

At this time the influence of Nur Jahan Begam had attained such a height that the entire management of the Empire was entrusted to her hands. Mahabat Khan thought proper therefore to represent as follows. That to His Majesty and all the world it is well known that this servant Mahabat Khan was brought up only by His Majesty, and

that he has no concern with anybody else. Every one knows, added he, that Mahabat Khan presumes much upon His Majesty's kindness ; and he now begs truly and faithfully to represent what he thinks proper, instigated by his loyalty, and for the sake of His Majesty's good name. His Majesty must have read, he observed, if in any of the histories of the ancient sovereigns, there was any king so subject to the will of his wife. The whole world is surprised that such a wise and sensible Emperor as Jahangir should permit a woman to have so great an influence over him. Not looking to the present, let us think, continued he "What will the kings of the future time say ?" He gave utterance to many such sentiments as these, and established them by the most irrefragable proofs. He also added, that in his opinion it was now very advisable to liberate Prince Khusru from prison, and deliver him to one of the confidential servants of the throne. He also said that His Majesty must recollect that this servant Mahabat Khan had with his own hands deprived the Prince of his sight ; and had been the cause of his being imprisoned. His Majesty should reflect that affairs had now assumed a new aspect, and the safety of His Majesty's person, and the tranquillity and peace of the country seem to depend upon the life of the Prince. On this the Emperor ascertained upon oath the truth of his declarations from other nobles, and Khan Jahan and Khan 'Alam both confirmed what Mahabat Khan had asserted.

The next day the Emperor ordered that the Prince should be given in charge to Khan Jahan, to be kept in his custody, that he should receive surgical treatment, be allowed to come to pay his respects, and that a horse should be given to him to ride on. On Mahabat Khan's representations, the Emperor for some days became more reserved in his demeanour towards the Begam. On the day the Khan took his leave from the camp at Pakhali, he again said that he had represented what fidelity and gratitude had suggested to him ; and that His Majesty might listen to his counsel or not, as he thought best. The Emperor acted in some

measure upon the advice of Mahabat Khan, till he arrived at Kashmir ; but the influence of Nur Jahan Begam had wrought so much upon his mind, that if 200 men like Mahabat Khan had advised him simultaneously to the same effect, their words would have made no permanent impression upon him.

APPENDIX

INSTITUTES OF JAHANGIR¹

These Institutes have been highly lauded by the Emperor's admirers. Let us see how far he is entitled to praise, either for their original promulgation or personal observance.

FIRST

I forbad the levy of any duties under the name of *tamgha* and *mir bahri*, together with the taxes of all descriptions which the *jagirdars* of every *suba* and every *sarkar* had been in the habit of exacting on their own account.

COMMENTARY

This casts an ungenerous reflection on the administration of his father, who had been equally stringent in his prohibitions, both with respect to *tamgha*² and *mir bahri*.³ Babar had been equally imperative with regard to *tamgha* from Musulmans—"Orders have been given that in no city, or town, or road, or street, or passage, or port, should the *tamgha* be levied."⁴

"His Majesty Akbar, from the excess of his beneficence, has remitted duties in this department that equalled the revenues of a kingdom. Nothing is now exacted upon

¹ This is the work of Elliot. The translations of the Institutes, *supra*, p. 36, were made independently of those here given.

² Bird's History of Gujarat, p. 407.

³ Gladwin's Ain-i Akbari, vol. i, pp. 288, 309.

⁴ See the enactment at length in Erskine's Memoirs of Babar, pp. 355-7. These perpetual repetitions of the same edicts show either the very weak authority of the original promulgators, or the vain-glory of their descendants, in assuming to themselves credit to which they were not entitled.

exports and imports, except a trifle taken at the ports, which never exceeds two and a half per cent. Merchants account this reduction a perfect remission."⁵ It will be seen from one of the extracts given above that Jahangir's total reduction also implied a levy of two and a half per cent.⁶

"Mukrab Khan (Viceroy of Cambaya, who had no command in Surat except what regarded the King's customs), to get possession of my goods, took what he chose, and left what he pleased, giving me such price as his own barbarous conscience dictated ; when thirty-five was agreed, giving me only eighteen."⁷

"All caravans must remain at Multan ten or twelve days, before leave can be procured from the governor to proceed, on purpose that the city may benefit by their stay. We remained five days, and were then glad to get leave to depart, by means of a present."⁸

"I found that the English who were settled at Ahmabad were injured and oppressed by the governor in their persons and goods, being fined, subjected to arbitrary exactions, and kept as prisoners ; while at every town new customs were demanded for their goods on their passage to the port."⁹

SECOND

I enjoined that on the line of those roads which were infested by highway robbers, a *sarai* and a *masjid* should be built on the most deserted spots, and that a well should be sunk in order that the country might be reclaimed, and a few people be induced to reside there. Where these occurred on *jagir* lands, the *jagirdars* were to complete the arrangements at their own expense ; but on *khalsa* land, the Government undertook the work.

⁵ Gladwin's *Ain-i Akbari*, vol. i, p. 233.

⁶ *Supra*, pp. 44, 112-13.

⁷ Capt. Hawkin's narrative in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. i, p. 208.

⁸ *Journey of R. Steel and J. Crowther*, *ib.*, p. 521.

⁹ Sir T. Roe. in Kerr's *Collection*, vol. ix, p. 264.

COMMENTARY

This was considerate towards the *jagirdars*, and must have considerably diminished the value of the tenures which in the tenth Institute he confirmed to the holders of his father's time. At a later period, even on the more populous routes, the Government relieved itself of this burden of the *Khalsa* lands, and placed it on the shoulders of the unfortunate landholders.¹⁰ This erection of *sarais* must have been proceeded with very generally before his time, for Sher Shah and Salim Shah are represented to have done the same at shorter distances than those contemplated by Jahangir.¹¹

"Sir R. Shirley remained at Thatta till a fit opportunity offered of proceeding to Agra, where he went at last, finding the way long and tedious, and much infested by thieves."¹²

His father also had directed the same. His orders to the *sipah-salar* are: "He must give attention to the digging of reservoirs, wells, and watercourses; to the planting of gardens; to the erecting *sarais* and other pious and useful foundations; and see that such as have fallen into decay be repaired."¹³

"In this kingdom there are no inns or houses of entertainment for travellers and strangers. But in the *cities* and *large towns* there are handsome buildings for their reception called *sarais*."¹⁴ These also appear to be the work of private individuals. "Many Hindus devote their fortunes to works of charity, as in building *sarais*, digging wells, or constructing tanks near highways."¹⁵

The arrangement must have fallen heavily upon the Exchequer if we are to judge of the state of the police as

¹⁰ Price's *Memoirs*, p. 90.

¹¹ See *Extract from the Tarikh-i Badauni*. vol. v. (Or. Ed.).

¹² Capt. Walter Peyton, in *Purchas's Pilgrims*, vol. ii, p. 530.

¹³ Gladwin's *Ain-i Akbari*, vol. i, p. 297.

¹⁴ The Rev. E. Terry, in *Purchas's Pilgrims*, vol. ii, p. 1470.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 1475.

drawn by our travellers. "The country is now so full of thieves and outlaws, that one can hardly stir out of doors in any part of his dominions without a guard, as almost the whole people are in rebellion."¹⁶ "I waited during the remainder of that month for the arrival of a caravan, going from Agra to Surat, by which I might transmit my papers in safety."¹⁷ Of one of the most frequented roads it is said, "Cambaya is thirtyeight *kos* from Ahmadabad, by a road through sands and woods much infested by thieves."¹⁸ "I was plundered on the way of my clothes, and everything else about me... One may travel as soon from Agra to Scinde as to Surat, but there is more thieving on the Scinde road."¹⁹ Even on the famous high road from Agra to Lahore, which was planted on both sides with mulberry trees, Richard Steel and John Crowther observe : "In the night this road is dangerously infested with thieves, but is quite secure in the day."²⁰ In such days as those, therefore, *sarais* must have been built, or there could have been no travelling or trade.

THIRD

No person shall open any package of merchandize on the road, without express permission of the proprietor. Throughout the empire no officer of Government shall claim the property of any deceased Infidel or Musulman ; his whole estate, real and personal, descending to his heirs solely. If there be no heirs, then officers specially appointed for the purpose shall take charge of the effects, and the produce

¹⁶ *Narrative of William Hawkins, in Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. i p. 230.*

¹⁷ *Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's Col. of Voyages and Travels, vol. ix, p. 320.*

¹⁸ *Observations of William Finch, Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. i, p. 230.*

¹⁹ *Nicholas Whittington, in Kerr's Collection, vol. ix, p. 131.*

²⁰ *Journey from Ajmir to Ispahan, in Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. i, p. 520.*

thereof shall be applied to the building of *sarais*, repairing bridges, and digging tanks and wells.

COMMENTARY

The descent to heirs is a mere repetition of Timur's Institute,²¹ but how little it was acted upon may be seen by reference to the history of Jahangir's grandson, Aurangzeb, who again abolishes the same custom of confiscating the estates of deceased subjects, which he says was constantly practised by his *predecessors*.²²

"Daulat Khan was the chief of the eunuchs of my father's seraglio, and obtained in this employment the title of Naziru-d daula. Of this man I will venture to say, that in the receipt of bribes, and his disregard of every principle of duty, there was not his second in the empire. In specie alone he left at his death no less a sum than ten *krors* of *ashrefies* of five *methkals*, exclusive of jewels, etc., to the value of three *krors* more (120 millions sterling !), the whole of which became an accession to my father's treasury."²³

His father's order was still more liberal. "Let him look after the effects of deceased persons, and give them up to the relations or heirs of such ; but if there be none to claim the property let him place it in security, sending at the same time an account of such to Court, so that, when the true heir appears, he may obtain the same. In fine, let him act conscientiously and virtuously in this matter, lest it should be the same here as in the kingdom of Constantinople."²⁴

In the towns there appears to have been less scruple about opening packages of merchandize. The inhabitants

²¹ Davy and White, *Institutes of Timur*, p. 373.

²² *Miratu-l 'Alam*.

²³ Price's *Memoirs*, p. 34. As Daulat Khan died in the seventh year of Jahangir's reign, this enormous property of a deceased Musulman must have fallen into the sons' instead of the father's treasury. See Kewal Ram's *Tazkiratu-l Umara* (MS. fol. 85 v.).

²⁴ Bird's *History of Gujarat*, p. 403, and Gladwin's *Ain-i Akbari*, vol. i, p. 302.

of Lahore were directed to afford every assistance towards rendering the reception of the Prince as magnificent as possible, by decorating the streets and bazars with gold-woven carpets, figured draperies or tapestry, both European and Chinese, and canopies also of cloth-of-gold, both within and without the city, to the distance of nearly four *kos*. All this the *kotwal* was to keep in readiness for the space of four or five days.²⁵

"The custom of the Mogul is to take possession of all the treasure belonging to his nobles when they die, giving among the children what he pleases, but he usually treats them kindly. In my time, Raja Gaginat, a great lord or prince among the idolators, died, when his effects being seized to the King's use, besides jewels, silver, and other valuables, his treasure in gold only amounted to sixty *mans*, every *man* being twenty-five pounds weight."²⁶

"The preceding night, at the Guzalcán, the jewels of Shaikh Farid, governor of Lahore, who was lately deceased, were presented to him."²⁷

"This I supposed to allude to his servant Hergonen, lately dead, whose goods had been seized to the King's use."²⁸

"No subject of this empire holds any lands by inheritance, neither have they any titles but such as depend on the will of the King. Owing to this, many of the grandees live up fully to the extent of their means. Merchants also, and others, are very careful to conceal their wealth, lest they be made sponges. Some small means of living are allowed by the King to the sons of his great men, which they

²⁵ Price's *Memoirs*, p. 136.

²⁶ *Narrative by William Hawkins in Purchas's Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 220.

²⁷ Sir T. Rce, in *Kerr's Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix, p. 283.

²⁸ Sir T. Kerr's *Collection*, vol. ix, p. 346.

can never make better, unless they succeed to the favour enjoyed by their fathers.”²⁹

“The sea-ports and the customs were full of gross abuses, the governor seizing on goods at arbitraray prices. Even Roe, though otherwise treated with hospitality and respect, had his baggage searched and some articles taken by the governor.”³⁰ His own words are : “We continued there to the 30th October, suffering much vexation from the governor, who forcibly caused search many of our chests and trunks, taking away what he thought fit.”³¹

“The Prince had intercepted the presents and goods on their way up, to satisfy his own base and greedy inclinations. ...It is the custom in this country, for the great men to see merchant goods before even the King, that they may choose first.”³²

“During this interval the King had caused the chests to be privately brought to him, and had opened them.”³³ “He opened the cabinet, and sent for the *padre* to read the letter, and to see everything contained in the boxes ; but finding nothing to his liking, he returned all.”³⁴

“I said, that if our goods continued to be taken from us by force, so that we could neither get back our goods, nor yet their value in money, it would be impossible for us to subsist. This was delivered with some heat, and the King, catching at the word *force*, repeated it to his son, whom he sharply reprehended. The Prince promised to see me paid for all that had been taken. He said likewise that he had taken nothing, having only caused the presents to be sealed ; and, as his officers had received no customs on these, he desired to have them opened in his presence.”³⁵

“This humiliating personal search was a system favoured by the local authorities, along with an unscrupulous

²⁹ Sir T. Roe, in *Kerr's Collection*, vol. ix, p. 414.

³⁰ *Elphinstone's History of India*, vol. ii, p. 323.

³¹ Sir T. Roe, in *Kerr's Collection*, vol. ix, p. 255.

³² *Ibid.* p. 327. ³³ *Ibid.* p. 329. ³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 341.

³⁵ Sir Roe, T. in *Kerr's Voyages*, vol. ix, p. 361.

pulous examination into luggage, by means of which they obtained valuable articles at indifferent prices ; and their subordinates did not allow such opportunities to escape without the appearance of gold, or what was deemed by them equally substantial. Choice, and taste, and cupidity, were at work on these occasions, and all the older travellers complain of this unhappy means of extortion.”³⁶

“In one case he seized on a convoy coming to the ambassador from Surat, and consisting of presents intended for himself and his court, together with the property of some merchants who took advantage of the escort : he rummaged the packages himself with childish curiosity ; and had recourse to the meanest apologies to appease and cajole Roe, who was much provoked at this disregard of common honesty.”³⁷

“The collection of *jehat*, which brought in an annual revenue of several *crores* of *dams*, had before been remitted throughout the empire in confirmation of a regulation made by the late Emperor. Jahangir now abolished the *sayerjehat* in Kabul, which produced annually one *crore* and twenty-three *lacs* of *dams*. When the *jehat* was collected, it fell very heavy in Kabul and Kandahar, and the abolition of that tax with the annual remission of the *sayerjehat* were great encouragements for the merchants of Iran and Turan to carry on a trade in those parts that was very advantageous to Hindustan.”³⁸

FOURTH

No person is permitted to make or sell wine or any other prohibited liquor which occasions inebriety ; though I myself am addicted to wine-bibbing, and from my eighteenth year until now, which is my thirty-eighth, have always taken it. In the beginning, when I was devoted to the practice, I used to take from fifteen to twenty cups of double-distilled

³⁶ Briggs's *Cities of Gujarashtra*, p. 63.

³⁷ Elphinstone's *History of India*, vol. ii, p. 326.

³⁸ Gladwin, p. 101.

spirit. By degrees, when this began to have a visible effect upon my constitution, I determined to reduce the quantity till I attained a mean of only six or seven. The times at which I used to indulge in my cups also differed : sometimes it was in the afternoon, sometimes at night, sometimes in the day time, till I reached my thirtieth year. From that time I have taken wine only at night, and at this present period I drink it solely to promote digestion.³⁹

COMMENTARY

"This religion of the Christians was agreeable to him, chiefly on account of the license which it affords for the use of wine, and the flesh of all kinds of animals. This was the only view which he took of it. That spirit of patience, humility, charity, and temperance, which is the soul of Christianity, was never a subject on which he reflected. With prepossessions founded on such impure motives, did he declare himself openly in favour of the Christians, and violate, without scruple, the law of Mahomet. He drank wine in the face of his whole Court."⁴⁰

"Four or five cases of red wine should be sent as presents to the King and Prince, as never were men more enamoured of that drink as these two, and which they would more highly esteem than all the jewels in Chepe-side."⁴¹

"At the time Hemayun went upon an expedition against Ranna Sanka, he made a vow, that if he gained a victory over the infidels, he would ever after abstain entirely from the use of wine. Shahjehan was determined to excel his grandfather, by making an offering previous to the victory. He accordingly ordered that all the wine in the camp should immediately be started into the river."⁴²

³⁹ See *Jahangir's additional statement, supra*, p. 98.

⁴⁰ *Catrou's History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 138.

⁴¹ *Sir T. Roe's Travels*.

⁴² *Gladwin's Reign of Jahangir*, p. 52.

"The party was free from all restraint, scarcely one of them remaining sober, except Sir Thomas and a few other grave personages, who were cautious in their indulgence. Jahangir himself never left off till he dropped asleep, when the lights were extinguished, and the company withdrew. On these occasions he was overflowing with kindness, which increased with the effects of the wine; and once, after talking with great liberality of all religions, he fell to weeping, and to various passions, which kept them to midnight."⁴³

"It was more particularly during the night that the King gave himself up to intoxication, in the society of his friends. All the Franks in Agra, that is, all Europeans of whatsoever nation, were allowed free access to the palace. He continued drinking in their company till the return of day; and he abandoned himself, especially, to these midnight debaucheries, at the season which the Mahometans observe as a fast with the most scrupulous exactness. When some of his nation of rather rigid principles happened to be present at these meetings, he compelled them to violate their fast, threatening them, in case of disobedience, with being abandoned to the rage of two lions, who were kept always chained under the windows of his apartments."⁴⁴

"Mocurrab Khan now joining them, was permitted also to mount the elephant, but not till after he had received a wound from one of the Rajpoots. Kidmit Pirest, Jahangir's cup-bearer, scrambled up too, with a bottle and glass, and crowded into the *howdah* with the Emperor."⁴⁵

"He then goes into a private room, where for two years I was one of his attendants; and there he drinks five other cups of strong liquor. This done, he chews opium, and, being intoxicated, he goes to sleep."⁴⁶

"So, drinking heartily himself, and commanding others

⁴³ *Elphinstone's History of India*, vol. ii, p. 325.

⁴⁴ *Catrou's History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 139.

⁴⁵ *Gladwin's Reign of Jahangir*, p. 81.

⁴⁶ *Narrative by W. Hawkins, in Purchas's Pilgrims*, vol. i.

to drink, he and his nobles became as jovial as could be, and of a thousand humours."⁴⁷

"The King returned to the city on the evening of the 25th, having been far gone in wine the night before."⁴⁸

"One day, that Jahangir happened to be recreating himself, attended by the musicians and female dancers of his palace, he exceeded the nine goblets to which he had been restricted by Nur Jahan. The Queen remonstrated, but the Emperor turned a deaf ear to her complaint, and carried his indulgence to the extent of intoxication."⁴⁹

"The very day which he had appointed for dismissing the Queen, Mahabat inquired what he could do to afford him pleasure. 'Give me the Sultanness, and wine,' replied the Emperor. The generous minister refused him both. Wine, on account of his attachment to the law of Mahomet; and the Sultanness, lest she should succeed in destroying that returning reason, with which he had begun to inspire the Mogul."⁵⁰

"He often disappeared in the evening from the palace, and dived into obscure punch-houses, to pass some hours in drinking and talking with the lower sort. Being in the hall of audience accessible to all ranks of men, after the performance of the usual ceremonies, he was often known in his nocturnal excursions. He often desired his companions at the bowl to ask no favours of him, lest Salim, in his cups, might promise what Jahangir, in his sober senses, would not choose to perform. When the liquor began to inflame him, he was rather mad than intoxicated."⁵¹

"He now took a decided aversion to opium, which had been his constant companion for forty years, and took nothing but the juice of the grape."⁵²

⁴⁷ Sir T. Roe, in *Kerr's Coll. of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix, p. 290. ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. ix, p. 307; see also p. 321.

⁴⁹ *Catrou's History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 146.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p. 153.

⁵¹ *Dow's History of Hindostan*, vol. iii, p. 108.

⁵² *Muhammad Hadi, Continuation of Memoirs, Julius 22nd.*

"On the 8th I found the King so nearly drunk, that he became entirely so in half an hour, so that I could not have any business with him..... All business being conducted at night, in the *guzalcan*, and then the opportunity is often missed, His Majesty being so frequently overcome by drowsiness proceeding from drunkenness."⁵³

"Wine-houses, since the days of Akbar, had been tolerated in the capital. The Emperor took a seat near an artisan, who was drinking with great gaiety, and, inspired with the wine, was disposed to indulge his vocal talents. Jahangir was delighted to find himself in such pleasant society. A familiarity was soon established between them; and the artisan was particularly charmed with the liberality of the new guest, who paid the entire score, and made him drink deep."⁵⁴

FIFTH

I declared that no one had a right to take up his abode in the dwelling of any other man. I prohibited magistrates from cutting off the noses and ears of culprits, whatever might have been their offence; and I myself made a vow to heaven that I would not inflict that punishment on any one.

COMMENTARY

"I then gave orders that the palace of Mohabat Khan should be cleared for the reception of Parwez; the Khan being absent at the time, employed in quelling some disturbances on the frontiers of Kabul, and his family being, by my directions, removed to another place of residence."⁵⁵

This was no new prohibition. It had been issued by his father: "Have a care that no soldiers or others enter in any one's house without his permission." Mutilation was

⁵³ Sir T. Roe, in *Kerr's Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix, p. 321.

⁵⁴ *Catrou's History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 158.

⁵⁵ *Price's Memoirs*, p. 122.

prohibited in the 6th clause of the same edict;⁵⁶ and this prohibition does not appear to have had much effect, for he again has to repeat it in the sixth year of his reign.

He did not care so much for the poor man's dwelling, when he chose to burn whole cities. Sir T. Roe says : "Necessity enforced me to remove, as the King had set fire to the whole *leshkar* at Agimere. The town was burnt, and utterly desolate ; and I was in great danger from thieves." Again : "The King caused the town near which he was encamped to be set on fire, appointing a new governor."⁵⁷ "The poor forsook the city of Mandu ; many more were commanded away by proclamation."⁵⁸

With respect to mutilations. Though noses and ears might not have been cut off, other more barbarous torments were commonly practised ; and we are reminded of the Circumcellions, who used to beat their victims to death with huge clubs, *because* Christ had forbidden the use of the sword to St. Peter ;⁵⁹ and Daulat Rao Sindia, who, on the plea of abstaining from taking the blood of Brahmans, used to blow them up with rockets.⁶⁰

"I accomplished about this period the suppression of a tribe of robbers, who had long infested the roads about Agra ; and whom, getting into my power, I caused to be trampled to death by elephants."⁶¹

"The sons of Bhagwandas received the rewards of their perfidious deeds, having their heads crushed under the feet of my elephants, and being thus despatched to the hell prepared for them."⁶²

He ordered a thief to be trampled to death by an elephant ; and, at the culprit's request, allowed him instead to fight with the elephant. Upon being successful, he was

⁵⁶ *Bird's History of Gujerat*, pp. 391, 394.

⁵⁷ *Kerr's Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix, pp. 317, 325.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 335.

⁵⁹ *Milman*, vol. ii, p. 377.

⁶⁰ *Noble's Orientalist*, p. 175.

⁶¹ *Price's Memoirs*, p. 34.

⁶² *Ibid*, p. 37.

rewarded ; but for subsequently making his escape, he was hanged.⁶³

"The King commanded one of his brother's sons to touch a lion on the head. But he refused it, being afraid ; on which the King desired his youngest son to touch the lion, which he did, without receiving any harm. On this the King commanded his nephew to be taken to prison, whence he is never likely again to be released."⁶⁴

"In the most inaccessible parts of Gujarat lived a race of men, known by the name of Koolies, who exercised perpetual depredations and cruelties upon the inhabitants of the open and cultivated districts. The enormities of these people had lately risen to an extraordinary height, when Jahangir issued a sanguinary order for the utter extirpation of the race. Many were slaughtered ; the rest hunted to their mountains and deserts."⁶⁵

"Since that time he has caused all the adherents of his son to be put to cruel deaths. While I was at his Court I have seen him do many cruel deeds. Five times a week he orders some of his bravest elephants to fight in his presence, during which men are often killed or grievously wounded by the elephants. If any one be sore hurt, though he might very well chance to recover, he causes him to be thrown into the river, saying, 'Despatch him, for as long as he lives he will continually curse me ; wherefore it is better that he die presently.' He delights to see men executed and torn in pieces by elephants."⁶⁶

"This day a gentlewoman was taken in the King's house in some improper act with an eunuch, when another animal of the same kind, who loved her, slew her paramour. The woman was set up to the arm-pits in the ground, with

⁶³ See *Extracts from Memoirs of the eleventh year of the reign* (*Supra*, p. 103).

⁶⁴ Sir T. Roe, in *Kerr's Collection*, vol. ix, p. 275.

⁶⁵ *Mill's History of British India*, vol. ii, p. 359.

⁶⁶ *Narrative by William Hawkins, in Purchas's Pilgrims*, vol. i, p. 220.

the earth hard rammed round her; being condemned to remain there three days and two nights in that situation, without sustenance, her head and arms being exposed to the violence of the sun. If she survived, she was then to be pardoned. The eunuch was condemned to the elephants."⁶⁷

"Whether owing to ill advice, wine, or some fault of his nature, he often issued very cruel orders. Happening to catch an eunuch kissing one of his women whom he had relinquished, he sentenced the lady to be put into the earth, with only her head left above ground, exposed to the burning rays of the sun, and the eunuch to be cut in pieces before her face."⁶⁸

"The King, however, insisted upon it, and the poor fellow was torn in pieces. Not yet satisfied, but desirous to see more sport, the King sent for ten of his horsemen, who were that night on guard, whom he commanded, one after the other, to buffet with the lion. They were all grievously wounded, and three of them lost their lives. The King continued three months in this cruel humour; in which time, merely for his pleasure, many men lost their lives, and many were grievously wounded."⁶⁹

"The 9th of August a band of one hundred robbers were brought in chains before the Great Mogul. Without any ceremony of trial, he ordered them to be carried away for execution, their chief being ordered to be torn in pieces by dogs. The prisoners were sent for execution to several quarters of the city, and executed in the streets. Close by my house the chief was torn in pieces by twelve dogs; and thirteen of his fellows, having their hands and feet tied together, had their necks cut by a sword, yet not quite through, and their naked and bloody bodies were left to corrupt in the streets."⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Sir T. Roe, in *Kerr's Collection etc.*, vol. ix, p. 278.

⁶⁸ *Modern Universal History*, vol. v. p. 399.

⁶⁹ *Narrative by W. Hawkins, in Purchas's Pilgrims*, vol. i, p. 281.

⁷⁰ Sir T. Roe in *Kerr's "Collection"* vol. ix. p. 281.

"About four thousand were made prisoners, all of whom, as an example to other wretches who might be disposed to follow in their steps, were, by my command, trampled to death by elephants."⁷¹

"Seffy sent him forty-four persons who had been active in the late commotions in Gujarat, two of whom were trampled to death by elephants, and the rest committed to prison."⁷²

"He sometimes sees, with much delight in blood, executions performed on offenders by his elephants. *Illi meruere, sed quid tu ut adesses?*"⁷³

"I determined that the perpetrator of this horrible villany should be immediately led to the great plain, where, as an awful example, he was torn piece-meal with red-hot pincers."⁷⁴

"One of his greatest pleasures was, putting to the test the constancy of the Persians newly arrived at his Court. He commonly carried in his girdle a stile, the point of which was particularly acute, with which he pierced the ear of the new comer, at a moment when he was quite unprepared for such a salutation. By his outcries, or by his silence, that is to say, by the impatience or the tranquil resolution which he manifested under infliction of pain, he formed his opinion of the courage of the Persian; and he measured his favours by the result of his experiment."⁷⁵

"On the banks of the Chenab the Emperor received from Zuffer Khan the head of the rebel Ahdad, which was ordered to be placed over the principal gate of Lahoor."⁷⁶

"One of the King's sons, Sultan Shariar, a boy of seven years old, was called by him one day when I was there. Because he had not said that he would go with all his heart

⁷¹ Price's *Memoirs of Jahangir*, p. 40.

⁷² Gladwin's *Reign of Jahangir*, p. 70.

⁷³ Sir T. Roe, in *Kerr's Collection*, vol. ix, p. 261.

⁷⁴ Price's *Memoirs of Jahangir*, p. 119.

⁷⁵ Catrou's *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 140.

⁷⁶ Gladwin's *Reign of Jahangir*, p. 79.

along with his Majesty, he was sore beaten by the King, yet did not cry..... On this his father struck him again, and taking a bodkin, thrust it through his cheek ; yet he would not cry, though he bled much.”⁷⁷

“Some nobles that were near his person he caused to be whipped in his presence, receiving 130 stripes with a most terrible instrument of torture, having, at the ends of four cords, irons like spur-rowels, so that every stroke made four wounds. When they lay for dead, he commanded the standers-by to spurn them with their feet, and the door-keepers to break their staves upon them. Thus, cruelly mangled and bruised, they were carried away, one of them dying on the spot.”⁷⁸

“The next morning Khusro was brought before his father, with a chain fastened from his left hand to his left foot, according to the laws of Chinghez Khan. On the right hand of the Prince stood Hassan Beg and on his left Abdul-raheem. Khusro trembled and wept. He was ordered into confinement ; but the companions of his rebellion were put to death with cruel torments. Hassan Beg was sewed up in a raw hide of an ox, and Abdulraheem in that of an ass, and both were led about the town on asses, with their faces towards the tail. The ox’s hide became so dry and contracted, that before the evening Hassan Beg was suffocated ; but the ass’s hide being continually moistened with water by the friends of Abdulraheem, he survived the punishment, and afterwards obtained the Emperor’s pardon. From the garden of Kamran to the city of Lahoor, two rows of stakes were fixed in the ground, upon which the other rebels were impaled alive ; and the unhappy Khusro, mounted on an elephant, was conducted between the ranks of these miserable sufferers.”⁷⁹

“The story of Seif Alla remains as a monument of his savage justice. The sister of the favourite Sultana had a

⁷⁷ *Narrative by W. Hawkins, in Purchas’s Pilgrims, Vol. ix, p. 307.* ⁷⁸ *Sir T. Roe, in Kerr’s Collection etc., vol. ix, p. 307.*

⁷⁹ *Gladwin’s History of Jahangir, p. 9. (Supra p. 53-54).*

son by her husband Ibrahim, the Suba of Bengal, who, from his tender years, had been brought up at Court by the Empress, who, having no sons by Jahangir, adopted Seif Alla for her own. The Emperor was fond of the boy ; he even often seated him upon his throne. At twelve years of age Alla returned to his father in Bengal. Jahangir gave him a letter to the Suba, with orders to appoint him governor of Burdwan. Alla, after having resided in his government some years, had the misfortune, when he was one day riding on an elephant through the street, to tread by accident a child to death... Alla obeyed the Imperial command ; but he knew not the intentions of Jahangir, which that prince had locked up in his own breast. The youth encamped with his retinue, the night of his arrival, on the opposite bank of the river ; and sent a messenger to announce his coming to the Emperor. Jahangir gave orders for one of his elephants of state to be ready by the dawn of day ; and he at the same time directed the parents of the child to attend. He himself was up before it was light, and, having crossed the river, he came to the camp of Alla, and commanded him to be bound. The parents were mounted upon the elephant, and the Emperor ordered the driver to tread the unfortunate young man to death. But the driver, afraid of the resentment of the Sultana, passed over him several times, without giving the elephant the necessary directions. The Emperor, however, by his threats, obliged him at last to execute his orders.”⁸⁰

“The cap, or tiara, of the chief, containing jewels to the value of twenty *laks* of rupees, and ten thousand of the heads of the rebels, fixed on spears, with all commanders who were taken alive, were conveyed to my presence ; Abdullah Khaun remaining in full possession of the subjugated districts. To deter others from the commission of similar acts of rebellion towards their sovereign, and of ungrateful perfidy towards their benefactor, I directed the bodies of the slain who fell in the defence of Kanouje, to

⁸⁰ *Dow's History of Hindostan*, vol. iii, pp. 110-12.

the number of ten thousand, to be suspended from trees with their heads downwards, on the different high roads in the vicinity. And here I am compelled to observe, with whatever regret, that, notwithstanding the frequent and sanguinary executions which have been dealt among the people of Hindustaun, the number of the turbulent and disaffected never seems to diminish ; for what with the examples made during the reign of my father, and subsequently of my own, there is scarcely a province in the empire in which, either in battle or by the sword of the executioner, five and six hundred thousand human beings have not, at various periods, fallen victims to this fatal disposition to discontent and turbulence. Ever and anon, in one quarter or another, will some accursed miscreant spring up to unfurl the standard of rebellion ; so that in Hindustaun never has there existed a period of complete repose.”⁸¹

The Kotwal brought a culprit before me, who had been several times mutilated for thieving. On the first occasion his right hand was cut off, then the thumb of his left, then the left ear, then his heels, and at last his nose. On the present occasion I gave him over to be executed by the family of the man whom he had robbed.⁸²

“About this time Ahdad and his rebellious Afghans were defeated at Cabul, by Motamad Khan, who made a pyramid of six hundred of their heads. He was rewarded with the title of Lushker Khan.”⁸³

“On the 1st December I went six *cosses* to Ramsor, where the King had left the naked bodies of an hundred men, put to death for robbery.” “On the 4th I overtook a camel laden with 300 heads, sent from Candahar to the King, the people to whom these heads had belonged having been in rebellion.”⁸⁴

⁸¹ *Price's Memoirs of Jahangueir*, p. 128.

⁸² *Authentic Memoirs, twelfth year of the reign.*

⁸³ *Gladwin's History of Jahangir*, p. 29.

⁸⁴ *Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's Collection of Voyages and Travels.* vol. ix. p. 320.

"I ordered that his tongue should be cut out, that he should be imprisoned for life, and that he should mess with dog-keepers and sweepers."⁸⁵

"In these circumstances I ordered a camel to be brought to my presence, and sending for Nour-ud-dein Kuly, I told him that the dress of the Hindu, with the valuable chaplet of pearls which encircled his neck, was all his own. But he was to conduct the unhappy man to the outside of the town, where he was to cause his bowels to be cut open, after which he was to be fastened to the side of the camel, and so carried round the camp."⁸⁶

This tendency to cruelty, notwithstanding his asseveration to the contrary, was early exemplified in the career of the Emperor.

"A *wakianavess*, or intelligencer, and two other servants belonging to Sileem, had formed a conspiracy against his life; in which, being detected, they attempted to make their escape to Sultan Daniel, in the Dekhan; but their flight was soon discovered, and some horsemen being sent in pursuit of them, quickly brought them back. Sileem was so exasperated against them, that, in the fury of his passion, he ordered the *wakianavess* to be flead, one of the accomplices to be castrated, and the other severely beaten. These cruel punishments, which were executed in his presence, put an end to the conspiracy; neither were there any more desertions. This transaction, in itself sufficiently culpable, was reported to the Emperor with all the exaggeration that malice could invent. The criminals were represented as innocent sufferers; and it was asserted that the Prince commonly practised such barbarities in the paroxysms of intebriation, a vice to which, in common with his two brothers, he was unfortunately very much addicted. Akbar, who possessed a mind fraught with every principle of philanthropy and humanity, was shocked at these accounts of his son's barbarity. He wrote him a letter, in which he severely

⁸⁵ *Authentic Memoirs, second year of the reign. (Supra p. 69).*

⁸⁶ *Price's Memoirs of Jahangueir, p. 134.*

reprobated his conduct, and said, that not being able himself to see a sheep stripped of its skin without sensations of horror, he was at a loss to conceive how it was possible for his son so far to stifle the common feelings of nature as to suffer a fellow-creature to be flead in his persence."⁸⁷

"The trials are conducted quickly, and the sentences speedily executed ; culprits being hanged, beheaded, impaled, torn by dogs, destroyed by elephants, bitten by serpents, or other devices, according to the nature of the crimes ; the executions being generally in the public market-place. The governors of provinces and cities administer justice in a similar manner."⁸⁸

"The disrespectful language in which the son of Khan-i Douraun presumed to express himself, could not be overlooked. I therefore commanded that one side of his head and face should be flayed of the skin, and in that state he was led round the encampment, proclamation being made at the same time, that such was the punishment which awaited those who dared to apply disrespectful language to him who was at once their sovereign and benefactor."⁸⁹

SIXTH

I ordered that the officers of government and *jagirdars* should not forcibly seize possession of the lands of my subjects, and cultivate them for their own benefit.

COMMENTARY

"The administration of the country had rapidly declined since Akbar's time. The governments were farmed, and the governors exacting and tyrannical."⁹⁰

"The edict of his father, enjoining the observance of

⁸⁷ Gladwin's *Reign of Jahangir*, p. ix, also Kamgar Khan's *Ma-asir-i Jahangiri* (MS. fol. 21r.).

⁸⁸ The Rev. E. Terry, in *Purchas's Pilgrims*, vol. ii, p. 1476.

⁸⁹ Price's *Memoirs*, p. 131.

⁹⁰ Elphinstone's *History of India*, vol. ii, p. 325.

kindness and conciliation towards the cultivators, goes much further than this."⁹¹

"Bengal, Gujarat, and the Deccan, are likewise full of rebels, so that no one can travel in safety for outlaws : all occasioned by the barbarity of the government and the cruel exactions made upon the husbandmen, which drive them to rebellion."⁹²

"But this observation may serve universally for the whole of this country, that ruin and devastation operates everywhere ; for since the property of all has become vested in the King, no person takes care of anything ; so that in every place the spoil and devastations of war appear, and nowhere is anything repaired."⁹³

"For all the great men live by farming the several governments, in which they all practise every kind of tyranny against the natives under their jurisdiction, oppressing them with continual exactions."⁹⁴

SEVENTH

I prohibited the Government '*amils* and '*jagirdars* from contracting marriage, without my leave, with any inhabitant of the districts under their control.

COMMENTARY

This prohibition extended to other cases.

"Khojah Birkadar having married the daughter of Mehabut Khan, unknown to His Majesty, upon the discovery thereof, was ordered to the presence, where he was beaten, and then committed to prison."⁹⁵

"Before his arrival, he betrothed his daughter to a young nobleman named Berkhadar, without first asking the

⁹¹ *Bird's History of Gujerat*, p. 394.

⁹² *Narrative by William Hawkins, in Purchas's Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 230.

⁹³ *Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix, p. 321.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, vol. ix, p. 338.

⁹⁵ *Gladwin's Jahangir*, p. 79. (*Supra Tatimma*, 12th Yr. of the Reign).

Emperor's leave, as was usual with persons of his high rank. Jahangir was enraged at this apparent defiance : he sent for Berkhadar, and, in one of those fits of brutality which still broke out, he ordered him to be stripped naked, and beaten with thorns in his own presence ; and then seized on the dowry he had received from Mahabat, and sequestered all his other property."⁹⁶

EIGHTH

I established hospitals within the chief cities, and appointed physicians to attend upon the sick, and directed that the expense should be defrayed out of the royal treasury.

COMMENTARY

This is one of the Institutes of his lying ancestor Timur, and was, no doubt, as much observed in one instance as the other.⁹⁷

NINTH

In imitation of my father, I directed that on the 18th of every Rabi'u-l awwal,⁹⁸ my birthday, no animal should be killed. There were also two other days of prohibition ; viz. Thursday, the day of my accession, and Sunday, on which my father was born, who used to pay that day extraordinary respect, not only because it was dedicated to the Sun, but because the Creation commenced on that day. On which account he also prohibited the killing of animals on Sundays.

COMMENTARY

Pope Pius V. allowed the inhabitants of Aberdeen the privilege of fishing on Sundays and Fast-days, provided the first fish caught were presented to the Church.

"The fast, which the Mahometans observe so scrupu-

⁹⁶ *Elphinston's History of India*, vol. ii, p. 339. See also *Dow's History of Hindostan*, vol. iii, p. 89.

⁹⁷ *Davy and White's Institutes of Timour*, p. 371.

⁹⁸ Gladwin translates this differently : "By as many days as he should be years old, commencing with his birth-day." The literal meaning will bear this construction ; but it seems an improbable

lously, for an entire month, was the subject of his derision. He invited to his table the most conscientious observers of the laws of their religion, and inveigled them into a companionship in his excesses in wine, and in eating prohibited meats. The Casis, and the Imams, who are the doctors of Mahometan law, in vain admonished him, that the use of certain meats was forbidden by the Alcoran. Fatigued with their importunities, he inquired in what religion the use of drinks and food of every species, without distinction, was permitted. The reply was, in that of the Christian religion alone. 'We must then,' he rejoined, 'all turn Christians. Let there be tailors brought to us, to convert our robes into close coats, and our turbans into hats.' At these words the doctors trembled for their sect. Fear and interest made them hold a less severe language. They all declared that the sovereign was not bound by the precepts of the Alcoran, and that the monarch might, without scruple, use whatever meats and drinks were most agreeable to him."⁹⁹

TENTH

I gave a general order that the *mansabs* and *jagirs* bestowed by my father should be confirmed to their respective holders, and a short time afterwards I increased the *mansab* of each according to his deserts; thus, the holder of ten was raised to twelve, and so forth. The *ahadis* were raised from ten to fifteen, and the salaries of all the servants of my father were raised from ten to twelve; and the provisions supplied to the ladies of the royal household were raised in the proportion of ten to twelve, and ten to twenty.

COMMENTARY

"Many Subas were removed from their respective governments into other provinces; some were dismissed to make room for the Emperor's abettors and friends. The deprived

one. (*The literal meaning certainly favours Gladwin's rendering. See supra pp. 38-39.*)

⁹⁹ *Catrou's History of the Mogul Dynasty, p. 138.*

governors repaired to Court to restore themselves, by money and intrigue, to their former dignities. Some succeeded in their views; others were reduced to despair, through want of success. The latter began to form treasonable designs to recover the consequence and power which they had lost."¹⁰⁰

Sir T. Roe would lead us to question this proclaimed liberality. "Having vension of various kinds before him, he gave me half a sag, and said I should see the rest bestowed on his ladies. This was presently cut into four pound pieces, and was sent into the interior apartments, by his young son and two women, in their bare hands, just as if he had been doling out such small fragments to the poor by way of charity."¹⁰¹

"Hussein Beg Chan Buduchshe, who had been governor of the province of Cabul during a considerable part of the former reign, being turned out of his office by the Emperor, was on his way to court."¹⁰²

ELEVENTH

The holders of *ayima* and *madad-ma'ash*, who form an army of persons invoking blessings, I at once confirmed in their holdings, according to the tenor of the *farmans* held by each; and Miran Sadr Jahan, one of the *saiyids* of pure descent in Hindustan, who held the high office of Sadr for some time under my father, was directed to look daily after the poor and needy.

COMMENTARY

Miran Sadr Jehan had received the same order from Akbar.

"His Majesty bestows upon the poor and needy money and necessities of every kind. Many are allowed daily, monthly, or annual pensions, which they receive regularly, without any delay or deduction."¹⁰³

"The affair required an agreement clear and explicit in

¹⁰⁰ Dow's *History of Hindostan*, vol. iii, p. 6.

¹⁰¹ Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix, p. 333.

¹⁰² Dow's *History of Hindostan*, vol. iii, p. 8.

¹⁰³ Gladwin's *Ain-i Akbari*, vol. i, pp. 221-225.

all points, and a more formal and authentic confirmation than it now had, by ordinary firmans, which were merely temporary commands, and respected accordingly."¹⁰⁴

"The prince gave us one day a phirmaund for our good usage, with a grant of privileges, and countermanded all the next by contradictory orders, in which proceedings there was neither honour nor good faith."¹⁰⁵

TWELFTH

I ordered that all the prisoners in every fort and prison throughout the kingdom should be released.

COMMENTARY

A very foolish order, and one calculated to bring his father's police system into contempt.

Jahangir's sense of sympathy for prisoners was not always so acute. "The King's manner of hunting is thus : About the beginning of November he goes from Agra, accompanied by many thousands, and hunts all the country for thirty or forty coss round about, and so continues till the end of March, when the great heats drive him home again. He causes a tract of wood or desert to be encompassed about by chosen men, who contract themselves to a near compass and whatever is taken in this inclosure is called the King's *sykar* or game, whether *men* ! or beasts, and whoever lets aught escape loses his life, unless pardoned by the King. All the beasts thus taken, if man's meat, are sold, and the money given to the poor. If men, they become the king's slaves, and are sent yearly to Cabul, to be bartered for horses and dogs ; these being poor, miserable and thievish people, who live in the woods and deserts, differing little from beasts."¹⁰⁶

Precept and practice were never more forcibly contrasted.

¹⁰⁴ Sir T. Roe, in *Kerr's Coll. of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix, p. 267. ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, vol. ix, p. 359.

¹⁰⁶ William Finch's *Travels*, 1611, in *Kerr's Voyages*, vol. viii. p. 291.

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